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"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit*, c. 6.

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THE LEADERSHIP OF LEO XIII.¹

We live in a period of transition when cherished views fail to make their wonted impression and new ones succeed the old with almost flash-like rapidity. In every other age of the world's history something has been held too sacred for profanation, but in ours the spirit of criticism, reflex and historical, has stopped at nothing; the mind of the modern student is, in consequence, strewn with the wreckage of systems, policies, and beliefs. Along all the lines of human thought and endeavor destructive analysis has forced its way unsparingly. The social, moral, religious, and intellectual fabric, upon whose construction centuries of unremitting toil have been spent, is now declared insecure—nay, in the minds of many must needs be entirely rebuilt to suit the conditions of our more enlightened life.

The fundamental ideas of a spiritual soul in man, of human freedom, moral responsibility, future life, and a personal intelligent God creating by design, have been attacked from every conceivable point of view; and to many, overborne by the one-sided theories of origin which are now so rife, seem but as riddled hulks, scarcely serving even to draw the fire of criticism.

The old theosophies of the East have been powerfully reasserted as substitutes for Christianity, and the philosophy

¹ Discourse delivered before the University, April 6, 1902, on the occasion of the celebration of the Pontifical Jubilee of Leo XIII.

of the scientific world, in so far as it professes any philosophy, is some form of monism which somehow seeks its God in an omnipresent energy that slowly rises from the dumb and lifeless matter of the universe into the full tide of human consciousness. Religion, both natural and supernatural, was not long since regarded with contemptuous disdain as the fossilized remains of prehistoric superstition—directly traceable to those childish views of nature's forces which early man crudely personified into a world of ministering spirits, before accurate knowledge had blessed him with a clearer vision and a keener insight.

The Scriptures are tested as any other piece of literature, stripped of all the special significance of a message from God to man, and reduced to a mere literary embodiment of a struggling people's ideals. The Christ has been made to shrink to the proportions of the human, to the dignity of an ideal man who went about doing good, teaching and living the highest moral life, anticipating by his consciousness of a divine mission the best type of the manhood of the future, yet conspicuously without any and all those diviner relations which, it is claimed, the Gospel of St. John and a handful of semi-pagan Greeks subsequently wove about his person.

Outside the Church Catholic, even among those who profess a modicum of Christian belief, dogmatic truth has dwindled down to the two sentimental propositions of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, while all sense of the supernatural is theoretically weakened, even if it be not practically extinct. The press, the novel, and even the pulpit preach the new evangel of a churchless Christ or a Christless church, laying stress upon the necessity of self-development and self-culture as the appointed means of salvation. Toiling man, we are assured, is eventually to come unaided to the dignity of being his own savior and sanctifier by wresting from dumb Nature the story of his origin and destiny, by unfettering himself gradually from that inherited lower self which still compels him to act like his progenitors in the past, even though his face be now firmly set towards that beatific future when knowledge shall have fully emancipated him and put perfect self-control within his power.

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Christianity is thus described out of recognition by a thousand pens which dispose of volumes in a word or syllable and exhaust all the resources of wit and irony in making doctrine ridiculous. The central position of Christ in the divine world-plan as the creative principle by which all things were made; and in human history as the anointed head of the race, the mediating and meritorious source of all its higher good and the atoning principle for all that men do of evil, is now usurped and occupied by "enlightened man." Led up to the mountain peak by pride of spirit, shown all the kingdoms of the world spread out in glory before him, man beholds all lower nature laid under tribute to furnish the materials of his bodily frame; feels a consecrating sense of kinship with, and kingship over the vast panorama of which he alone is the conscious and free interpreter; and lends willing ear to the inward voice which whispers: "All these will I give thee, if falling down thou wilt adore me." Reason! he exclaims, the end and goal and summit of all desire! Thou only God! There is no God beside!

Not only is the field of human thought crossed and recrossed by new and strange forces, but the social, industrial, political and domestic conditions of men have undergone a veritable revolution. The industrial development of the nineteenth century—greater by far than that of all the others put together—has displaced the old conceptions of social relations and brought a new set of competing principles into play. In the first fervor of competition the ethical consideration of man's dignity and individual worth counted for little in determining his right to a living wage and was sacrificed to purely economic laws and conditions. Socialism, in consequence of these newly imposed economic hardships, has become the ideal statehood for millions.

The political and domestic orders have had their share of disturbance. Superior civilizations claim the ethical right to force their principles and institutions on the less favored, and the arbitrament of the sword ensues where that of the pen has failed. The Christian constitution of the family has been practically annulled by the loosening of the marriage tie on grounds that will not bear the analysis of judicious statesmanship.

That solidarity of mutual interest and responsibility which

should characterize the efforts of the theologian, the moralist, the statesman, the social reformer, the economist, and bind their related sciences together, may be said no longer to exist. Every branch of human learning, and, one might almost say, of human striving has become autonomous and independent, until every man looks upon the little corner of the world, which he has singled out for study, as a point of vantage whence to criticise and judge all reality. Not long since, hardly twenty years ago, science was committed to the endeavor of dislodging religion from its stronghold over the lives and ways of men, and even of dictating to Christianity itself the terms of an inglorious surrender. With religion deprived of its sovereignty over the moral side of man's nature; with the empire of intellect and of moneyed might establishing and recognizing an ethics all its own, agnosticism, pantheism, and evolution might well appear to have made short shrift of the supernatural and to have thrown down the gauntlet of challenge to the philosophy of the spiritual itself.

In such an environment there was sore need of directive leadership. Not all that our age has brought forth is evil, and much of it is good and lasting. Let those who will sigh for the good old days when the problems of life were easier and the surprises fewer. We are not so faltering in our Christian faith as to believe that God's arm is shortened because man has discovered a new star or found it to be a possibility that the creation of some lower species was not immediate. Neither are we so lacking in Christian courage as to feel like strangers and idle spectators in a day and country whose tireless spirit is advance; nor so bereft of discernment as to see nothing but chaff in the modern harvest.

We Catholics who have a sense of the past as a good corrective of the extremist views which the Church, ever old, yet ever new, has outlived in all centuries, are not without a sense of the future strongly developed within us, for have we it not under the seal of the Master's own lips that He will be with His Church all days even unto the consummation of the ages? Were man a mere thinking machine made to turn out yearly newer and still newer views of the world's grand pageant, and not also a moral and religious agent who seeks to serve a divine

purpose and attain to true development by a final union with the unseen Source of all, we might be tempted to look upon the future as wholly unrelated to the past and to fear that what is to come in the course of human investigation might overthrow all that had gone before. But to the Catholic who frames a larger world-view than that which is bounded by natural knowledge, the conviction comes as an inheritance that the final purpose which is being worked out in nature and in history was systematically planned in the divine counsels from the beginning and has harmony, not contradiction, for its source and guiding principle. This belief in the higher uniformity of things in the mind of Him who made them, however much at variance the narrow analyst may try to make them out to be, is the badge of our discipleship in religion and the inspiration of our endeavor in science.

And are we not gathered to-day about this altar of sacrifice to give public expression by a supreme act of religion to our belief in Jesus Christ the divine Word and Redeemer of mankind still sacramentally present with us, and to take new courage from the fact that in the troublous times of the past quarter of a century a leader like Leo XIII has been vouchsafed us—a truly great Pontiff who sympathizes fully with all that is good and progressive in this wondrous period of the world's development, while stoutly resisting the efforts of a hostile environment to absorb Christianity and deaden its influence; who has preached Christ crucified as a cure for man's ills to an age which, like careless Gallio, seemed to set little store by such things, rapt as it was and is in the ecstasy of discovering a formula in which all the facts of life may be triumphantly written out without recognizing the right of Jesus Christ and His Church to be represented in the world's equation?

To be a good leader in human thought or in practical affairs is to anticipate the final outcome of movements and to be beforehand in fostering the reaction that the years are sure to bring. We are indeed too close to Leo XIII to take his true measure, and as a subject for discourse his pontificate is considerably hackneyed by the usual stock of platitudes kept in reserve to glorify the deeds of all public men. But, after sufficient length of years, when this great pope shall cease to be a

trite subject and the eulogist shall have yielded place to the critic, the future historian will praise him duly for assuming a healthy and conciliatory attitude in a period when men were given over to the worship of one-sided views, and bent upon reconstructing all history to suit the interest of their cherished theories. Let us try to forecast the judgment of future critics in this regard.

The first great movement which Leo XIII set on foot was the restoration of the philosophy of St. Thomas to the place of honor in the Catholic schools. No one can read his encyclical on the restoration of Thomistic studies without feeling that a sound motive prompted it. The philosophy of St. Thomas was all the philosophies that preceded it and yet none of them wholly. It was a scientific inventory of the facts, principles, and conclusions discovered by human reason up to his time. It did not wholly break with the continuity of the past, but re-expressed those elements of thought which seemed assured of permanence. Synthetic as well as analytic, it destroyed only to build, it separated only to put together, and admitted the progressive character of human reason both as to more intense powers of knowing, and a more extensive range of objects known.

It laid solid foundations for universal ideas and drew a sharp line between sense and intellect, emphasizing the irreducibility of thought to matter, despite the interdependence and solidarity which the energies of both displayed. It did not confuse the spiritual and material principles in man, nor yet force them out of all relation, but simply made both distinct in the substantial unity of the human person. It combined induction with deduction and defined theoretically as well as it observed practically the dividing lines between philosophy and theology. It viewed physical nature as only one side of a beneficent divine purpose, and left room in its wide scheme of thought for the phenomena of grace and the supernatural to carry out this purpose on a higher and parallel plane. It recognized a purposive something in nature and a purposive something in human history directing things as well as men to appointed ends, and sought the unity and harmony of all in the mind of Him who planned these stages of develop-

ment as means to a still higher end and goal, which was none other than a blessed partnership of created will and intellect with the intellectual and moral life of God. Finally, it conceived all the physical sciences, together with metaphysics, as ministering the data upon which theology was to build itself into a science whose object was to defend the harmonious relationship of all truth and to allow the revelations from above and the discoveries from below to mingle in friendly converse and communion.

In a word, the purpose of this philosophy was to give solidity and unity of structure to all the facts of human knowledge and divine faith. And to-day when the ways of nature are more extensively known and more intensely studied; when a profound reaction away from extreme specialization and toward synthetic reconstruction is once more making itself felt in human thought; when, in fine, philosophy is striving to piece together what analytic science has torn apart, who can deny that the ideal reconstruction must be, on general lines, at least, that wisdom of St. Thomas to which the foresight of Leo XIII has again directed the general attention? Details may have varied, the critical sense may have grown more acute, and some of the old notions may no longer be serviceable as building-material; but the outlook upon the world which this philosophy affords has not lost its inspiration. The future critic, says a recent writer, will perhaps characterize our age as one in which all were scientists and none philosophers. Such another, in the years that are to be, cannot fail to commend the wisdom of a pontiff who foresaw in a synthetic spirit the prime corrective as well as need of the age in which he lived.

But while insisting on the need of philosophy, Leo XIII was no reactionary against science, no advocate of a return to the subtleties of scholasticism. It is ever the letter that killeth and the spirit that giveth life. The encyclicals "*Æterni Patris*," "*Providentissimus Deus*," "*Longinqua*"; the encyclical on Human Liberty, and, earlier still, his splendid pastoral on the Church and Civilization—the latter written almost on the eve of his election—all breathe a love of science and progressiveness such as no other occupant of the chair of Peter

has ever surpassed in expression. Read his letters to the promoters of the Catholic Scientific Congresses, his instructions and addresses to scientific men, his exhortations to students, his judicious plea in favor of the biblical sciences, and his encyclical to the French clergy, and you will arise from their perusal fired with the love and ardor of this enthusiastic spokesman of human learning. Even in that brief letter on "Historical Studies" written to the three Cardinals, DeLuca, Pitra and Hergenroether, we hear a trumpet-call such as this: "Barren narrative should be replaced by laborious and careful research; historiographers should ever bear in mind that the first law of history is to dread uttering a falsehood; the next is not to fear stating the truth; while finally, the historian's writings should be above all suspicion of partiality or animosity." The pontiff who opened the doors of the Vatican Archives to the world of scholars, and who but lately confirmed his satisfaction with that act, shall not go down in history as unfriendly to scientific endeavor.

But his activity did not stop at the mere promoting of the study of philosophy, theology, scripture, and the natural sciences. The social, political, and domestic problems of our times have felt the influence of his leadership. No public personage in the world of his day has pleaded more eloquently or more strongly in behalf of a higher conception of the worth and dignity of the human individual; or endeavored to secure a recognition of the ethical value of man as of more account than the economic. His clear-cut conceptions of the obligations of the state to protect the individual, of the rights of labor, whether individually, or as a class, show how closely and sympathetically he has studied the crucial problems of modern sociology. And every modern state owes him a lasting debt of gratitude for the determined stand he has taken against Socialism in his encyclicals of 1879, 1891, and 1901. He may be truly said to have spanned his whole pontificate by a continuous protest against organizations that threaten social order.

His reiterated presentation of the Church under the form of a great spiritual commonwealth, independent of, while yet related to the state as the defender of morality and of constituted authority, is another proof of that harmonious relation-

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ship which he desires to see everywhere established. Within the Church, as well as without, his watchful spirit has never slumbered, and he has preached peace to the nations when their loins were girt and their breasts panoplied for war. His ever-recurring theme is the return of the nations to the Apostolic sheepfold of Christ, a closer sympathy and union among all the children of the Church. One has but to recall to mind his persistent efforts with the churches of the East, with the Anglican communion, with the embittered political and religious parties in his own and other lands to realize how worthily he has borne the mantle of the prince of peace.

In the domestic order, he has taught the Christian constitution of the family and raised his voice in denunciation of the ravages wrought by divorce. Truly might he say in his encyclical "*Longinqua*"—an affectionate address to the American people containing the résumé and application of all his teaching: "By pen and voice we have treated of human liberty, of the chief duties of Christians, of civil authority, of the Christian constitution of states and families, with arguments drawn from Holy Writ and the principles of human reasoning." What can the future say but good of this noble central figure of Christendom who bore upon his infirm shoulders the solicitude of all the churches and the anxieties of all the states?

Already the reflux tide is setting in. Criticism has ended by criticising itself, by becoming more conservative, by seeking again that solidarity of interest it ruthlessly destroyed. The physical doctrine of the conservation of energy and its persistence in an unvarying sum—which it was the fashion a decade or more ago to pit against the ideas of a personal God, a spiritual soul, free will, and moral responsibility—is beginning to receive a milder interpretation. For thinking men are coming to recognize a directive quality, as well as an unchanging quantity in the manifestations of all forms of energy, and so the ideas which hasty judgment banished are now enjoying the benefit of a new trial. "*Natural Selection*," which was so ready an explanation on scientific lips in the eighties, finds few to-day willing to go the length of former advocates in its support. Evolution, among those who pin their faith fervently to this idea of development, is being regarded as a rationally

directed process, not incompatible with the idea of a personal God acting from design. Ethics is creeping back into Economics and Sociology; religion is no longer viewed as a result of man's curious speculations concerning nature; divorce is beginning to be in disfavor, and the need of making Christianity operative in all the walks of life is finding fearless spokesmen. The Catholic interpretation of Christianity as a spiritual social organism and not as an individual whimsy, has forced itself upon the consideration of the serious-minded, although the idea is being worked out only along lines of practical endeavor, and not with a view to common spiritual government. The great Pontiff, to whose heart the idea of unity and solidarity has been so dear, has lived to see the beginning of a reaction whose results none may foretell. When men begin to re-think their thoughts, they generally find that they have been arguing themselves to destruction on half a truth.

We may say, therefore, that on the intellectual, moral, social, and religious orders of truth, Leo XIII has made an impression not soon to be effaced. He anticipated, if he did not bring about, the great reaction, and this is the glory which from him none may steal. And yet withal, no stranger is he to piety. His almost annual October letters breathe a simple devotion to Her who is the Help of Christians, and the beautiful encyclical "Divinum Illud" on the Indwelling Holy Spirit shows at what well this venerable Pontiff had drunk deep of the waters that spring up unto the life everlasting.

In still another sphere Leo XIII has been an inspiration. He founded the universities of Freiburg, Ottawa, and the Catholic University of America. As scholars we are his children, counselled to be leaders and not followers in scientific pursuits. We have to look no further than to the work of his pontificate for our idea of a Catholic university whose splendid purpose it is to piece together again into unity the isolated fragments of knowledge which detailed investigation yields. Would to God that the same *largueur d'esprit*, the same love of learning, and the same keen insight into modern tendencies might take possession of all American Catholics! The example of our Founder is ours to profit by and imitate. Opposition never held him back, neither did the

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criticism of the small ones, whose number is legion, ever stay his hand from what he had to do. God grant that men may say the same of us when our harvest-time draws nigh! God grant that some future historian, in that truer perspective which only length of time can bring, will find some link of association to bind, with what he will then call "the Leonine Movement," the faithful few who presided over this institution's struggle for existence, who shouldered its cares and shared its responsibilities, who shook with the thrill of its ideal of promise to the Church Catholic in the sovereign states of North America.

Nor should we forget the striking lesson which his life affords of opportunities improved and of circumstances turned to good account. For Giuseppe Pecci was a leader in his teens, and the boy was father to the man. He absorbed the good out of all environments, and dominated every situation in which he was placed. Inheriting from his mother a devotion to the poor, he passed his boyhood in the Volscian hills. Schoolboy with the Jesuits at Viterbo and at the Roman College after its restoration, he easily outstripped his fellows in the race of intellect and won the doctor's cap at the age of twenty-two. Trained by the ablest masters from his early youth, and enjoying the converse of such eminent men as Cardinals Pacca and Sala—than whom few knew better the needs of the times—he was not slow to profit by the ripe experience of his seniors. His letters to friends while he was yet a student in the College of Noble Ecclesiastics show how close an observer he was of the great movements in thought and polity that were then only beginning to rise. Ordained priest and made domestic prelate in 1837, and soon afterward appointed civil governor of Benevento, Spoleto, and Perugia, he visited every commune of his province, learned the causes of popular unrest, beheld the movement toward a radical centralized democracy springing up about him, and sought to check it by reform and education. Promoted to the diplomatic service of the Holy See and appointed nuncio at Brussels he had ample opportunity for several years to grapple with the social, political, and industrial problems of modern life in the capital city of the Belgians so well fitted, situated as it was on the high road between England

and Germany, to make his training and his experience cosmopolitan. Placed in charge of the flourishing diocese of Perugia in 1846, he roused his clergy and people to a love of philosophy and theology; encouraged the higher studies by founding the Scientific Academy of St. Thomas, and by making his diocesan seminary a veritable nursery of scholars. During the revolutionary storm that swept over his native hills, he kept his clergy and his people firm, and by a system of education that had holiness as well as knowledge for its object strove to meet the emergencies that were then at hand.

Nor was he idle in other fields. He established a system of popular loans, founded conferences for the relief of the needy, built granaries for the poor, and increased the wages of the laborer. Busy with every care of office, he yet found time to use his pen. His splendid defence of the temporal dominion of the Holy See at a time when the patrimony of Peter's successors was being forcibly absorbed into the Italian State; his ringing Pastorals on "the Church and Civilization," "the Catholic Church and the Nineteenth Century," "Civil Marriage," "Renan's Life of Jesus," and "Current Errors against Religion," have in them all the force and feeling of a spiritual call to arms, to the sword of the spirit.

A Cardinal in 1853, he was finally called to the chair of Peter to give to the world the burning subjects that had been for years in his thoughts, and under his pen; and to govern the Church during a critical period which stands almost without a parallel in human history. Stripped of his temporal sovereignty and deprived of the freedom even of a petty prince, this lion of the fold of Juda has not had his spirit broken by long captivity, nor his outraged sense of justice enfeebled by the coursing of the years.

Student, priest, civil governor, bishop, patron of science and letters, friend of the workingman, philosopher, poet, statesman, pope, with an eagle eye on every movement, and a friendly hand for very good endeavor, how can the future view him otherwise than as the encyclopædic Pontiff, in whose capacious intellect all things and movements, old and new, seemed somehow to fall into their proper proportions; as the Pope of Peace who strove to restore harmony between the natural and the

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supernatural; science and religion; faith and reason; piety and learning; who sought the peace of the family, the workingman, the State and the Church, and the reunion of all Christendom by his gently firm and firmly gentle method of conciliation, by his loftiness of purpose, and nobility of aim; who rendered to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and to God the things that are God's; who reasserted the sweeping world-view of St. Thomas that miracle and natural law, nature and grace, faith and reason, Church and State, are but stages toward the realization of that higher communion with God in the after-life which is reserved to the spiritually fittest who have here thought God's thoughts after Him and governed their lives according to the inspiration of His purpose?

The lesson of such a life is too inspiring in its very recital to need further words to draw its moral. Gathered together to-day to celebrate the twenty-fifth year of his glorious pontificate, we can only pray God with fervor to bless this noble old white shepherd of Christendom with still greater length of days and deeds; with the love and fealty of all the flock which he has so vigilantly led through new and untrodden pastures; we can only pray that when the night cometh and our wanderings are at an end, God will lead us all back with him to the eternal sheepfold of the blest. *Dominus conservet eum et vivificet eum et beatum faciat eum in terra et non tradat eum in animam inimicorum ejus!*

EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

LIVY AS AN ORATOR.

Ancient and modern letters differ in many respects. They are in contrast both as regards matter and as regards form. With the ancients, especially the Roman writers of the Livian period, rhetoric was consciously and constantly employed, and as a result literary style and expression ceased to be subsidiary and became, if not the predominant at least a prominent aim in their writings. Scientific writing as such, that is mere information apart from expression, merely technical treatises and the like, can scarcely be said to have existed. In a word, science in its formless presentation was unknown.

This broad distinction between the ancients and the moderns, visible throughout the whole range of their respective literatures, is especially marked in their divergent conceptions of history. The modern mind apprehends history as science: the representative historians of the Roman Empire—Sallust, Livy and Tacitus—regarded it as an art.¹ History to-day has its own methods, principles, processes and conclusions, like any other inductive science. The historian looks upon the investigation of historical truth as sufficient of itself. He is content to separate the salient facts of the past, to arrange them according to representative principles, and then to make his synthesis. He holds no brief, he pleads no cause. His sole motive is historical truth, and the more he eliminates disturbing factors, subjective and objective, the nearer he comes to the ideal historian. Again, history to-day embraces many orders of facts which had no place in ancient historical writings. The skilled crafts, the mechanical arts, commerce, industry, despised by the ancients because they were servile occupations, are rehabilitated to-day and find a place in history because they are exercised by free men. Domestic customs, of no importance in ancient times, crowded out in ancient history to give place to the recital of political events, are studied to-day, because the family is of interest as well as the state. Science,

¹ E. Riemann, "Etudes sur la langue et la Grammaire de Tite Live," p. 10 sqq., and M. Taine, "Essai sur Tite Live," p. 306 sqq.

such as it was, letters and art, held in ancient times to be the work of a few individuals, are to-day held as works worthy of the entire people. In a word, history has expanded, and aims not only at recording the doings of the human race, but also at what are supposed to be the constant laws underlying those doings.¹

The historian of Rome in the time of the Empire, had a widely divergent motive in all his work. Nothing was more alien to his mind than the quest of historical truth for itself. His aim was, above all else, the inculcation of practical lessons drawn from the past touching conditions in the present. This practical purpose, paramount in all that he wrote, not only impaired his vision of past events but it vitiated all his conclusions.² He gave no true picture of the past, but instead, he pieced together a mosaic, with elements which he had deliberately chosen out and colored to suit his purpose. Often, of course, his object was praiseworthy in itself. Livy, for example, began his great work with the preconceived purpose of securing greater devotion to the state; and the result is that in his history he canonizes the citizens of ancient Rome, and repeats and embellishes all the myths concerning Rome's origin. He exaggerates the ancient victories, he suppresses or minimizes the defeats. Historical truth as such was subsidiary in his design, and so he seized upon the legendary stories of valor and virtue and devotion to the state in ancient times; these he repeated and prolonged for the sole purpose of engendering like devotion in the present. Thus our historian was biased because his purpose was practical; hence it was that valuable and authentic historical sources were neglected and the fabulous, the mythical and heroic, came to predominate.³

This indiscriminating spirit, this deadened historical sense,

¹M. Taine, *op. cit.*, p. 353 sqq., says: "Au lieu de suites d'événements, on vit des classes de faits, on rangea ces classes en un système, on résuma le tout en formules, et l'on jugea que l'histoire universelle doit expliquer les actions et toutes les pensées du genre humain. Cette conception est fort belle; mais ne réduisons pas l'histoire à n'être qu'une science!"

²Tacitus, "Præcipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes sileantur atque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate et infamia metus sit." *Annal.* III, 65.

³See also A. Rudiger, "De Orationibus quæ in rerum scriptoribus Græcis et Latinis reperiuntur." *Progr. Schleiz.*, 1875.

is one of the commonplaces of Livian criticism. Not only was he unable to uncover the exact truth, but he seemed incapable of appreciating the varying degrees of probability with which past truth can be attained. His poetical temper and the ethical purpose he had in view, both indisposed him to set any very great value on facts as such. And so there is little if any trace of independent investigation in his history. Valuable sources for history lay around him in immense profusion. The priceless collections of Varro, the greatest scholar of antiquity, touching every department of antiquarian research were at hand, but there is no evidence that he used them, and no evidence that he undertook similar labor on his own account. While it is clear that he never wilfully distorts the truth, it is equally clear that he takes comparatively little pains to disengage the truth from myths and fables and inaccuracies. For example, in his account of a battle in Greece he finds that Valerius Antias reckons the number of the enemy killed as inside of ten thousand, while Cladius Quadrigarius says forty thousand. This material discrepancy does not even ruffle Livy. He contents himself with an expression of mild surprise that for once Valerius allows himself to be outstripped in exaggerating numbers. Yet, at other times Valerius is his only authority and he accepts his statements, figures and all, without misgivings. This instance is typical of his method as a critical, or rather uncritical, historian. When his authorities disagree, sometimes he counts heads and follows the majority, sometimes he adopts the earliest account; often he professedly bases a choice on the ground that the story he adopts shows Roman statesmanship or Roman virtue in a more favorable light. Throughout, he allows his own prepossessions to decide whether or not a story is true. "In rebus tam antiquis si quae similia vero sint, pro veris accipiantur," is the easy canon he lays down for early and uncertain events. Even when original documents of great value were accessible to him, he refrains from citing them if they do not satisfy his taste. During the second Punic war a hymn to Juno had been written by Livius Andronicus, for a propitiatory festival.¹ It was one of the most

¹ Teuffel's "History of Roman Literature," on Livy: See also Mackall, "Latin Literature," p. 150 sqq.

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celebrated documents of early Latin, and it would be priceless to-day; but our author refuses to insert it on the ground that to the taste of his day, it would be rude and harsh.

Besides this difference of method and content, visible throughout ancient and modern history, another marked divergence is to be found in the form of historical presentation. Among the Romans, and especially with Sallust, Livy and Tacitus, history was, as we said, not only an art—it was an oratorical art. Cicero gives us the characterization of history writing in Rome, when he designated it as an “opus maxime oratorium.”¹ This Ciceronic maxim Livy never forgets. In his treatment, history is a conscious art analogous with the art of oratory, and admitting, even demanding, in its expression, the methods of oratorical presentation. He holds the brief, and makes the plea for those great names, which are in honor in the popular traditions. Consequently he not only brought to his work the special pleading of the advocate, but he deliberately employed in the composition of that work, all the devices which a perfectly developed oratorical rhetoric placed at his disposal. His work differed not in kind from that of the professional pleader. As the orator in the forum had to instruct and please and convince his clients’ judges, so Livy, antiquity’s great advocate, having for his clients the great worthies of old Rome, marshals in their defence and glorification those stately sentences whose arrangement, syntax, vocabulary and rhythm not only exhausted the older rhetoric of Cicero, but enriched Roman oratory itself, and gave it a further development.

Now while Roman history, and especially the history of Livy, was written under the acknowledged and direct influence of oratorical rhetoric, another feature which marked Roman history and which again sharply differentiates it from modern history, was the introduction of a dramatic element. This feature, like all the other features of Roman literature, had been borrowed from the Greeks; and it consisted in the insertion of set orations throughout the narrative.² It was, indeed,

¹ Cic., “De Oratore,” II, 9, 36.

² Cicero, “Orator,” XX, 66. “Huic generi (orat.) historia finitima est, in qua et narratur ornate et regio sæpe aut pugna describitur: interponuntur etiam contiones et hortationes, sed in his tracta quædam et fluens expetitur, non hæc contorta et acris oratio.”

itself a dramatic method of narration. For instead of telling in so many words what were the designs, the policies and the character of historical personages, the ancient historian, both Greek and Roman, allowed all that to be discovered by the reader himself, from the set orations and speeches which he inserted in his narrative. He introduced generals exhorting their soldiers, senators and statesmen speaking in the Senate, tribunes in the assembly, and political leaders in the forum haranguing the populace. In a word, all the public men of former times are represented as telling their own story of current events, as speaking in set orations to the assembled Romans of old, upon questions then in debate. And the speeches thus reported, the historian weaves into the text of the narrative itself. In this manner ancient history was written first in Greece and then in Rome: and in this manner Livy, following the Greek fashion wrote his history. The Livian narrative is, indeed, studded thickly all along with grand and noble specimens of eloquence—orations which modern criticism has found comparable at least with the productions of Rome's classic orator, Cicero, orations composed with all the genius of their richly endowed author, orations which were put together with all the care, all the art and all the rhetoric at the command of one who was a master of words and a past master of Latin prose style; of one who was a true orator in every instinct; of one who was a rhetorician before he was an historian, and who became an historian without ceasing to be an artist.

Indeed, when we remember that though only one-fourth of Livy's history has come down to us, there yet remain in the thirty-five extant books four hundred and seven speeches in direct oration, not to mention innumerable "colloquia," exhortations and other long speeches in indirect oration, and when we recall the care and knowledge and genius they exhibit, we are forced to the conclusion that though the narrative portion of his history be greater in quantity, still the quality of the speeches is surpassing. And we feel certain that Livy himself meant them to be the prominent feature of his work. They are, as it were, the jewels—the narrative is merely their setting.

Now Livy's object in all those carefully composed speeches found throughout his history is clear. They were written with

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no other purpose than to hold up to the readers of his own time the glorious deeds of their ancestors; and to incite them to like deeds of devotion, of valor and virtue; not merely to picture graphically, as in a drama, the exploits, but to recall the very words of their dead sires. Thus, the Romans, hearing, as it were, the voice and seeing almost the speaking lips of the great dead, should themselves be ready, as their forefathers had been prompt to sacrifice all for the commonwealth. To the end that the Roman state, at whose origin gods had presided, whose welfare great and good men in times past had secured at every cost, should itself endure a victor to the end. Now, if this were the purpose which Livy had in view, how could he better compass it than by reincarnating the ancient Roman virtues in the persons of these great worthies who had passed away, leaving behind them names synonymous with all that a Roman held worthy of imitation? How would he more skillfully or more vividly portray Rome's ancient majesty, than by resurrecting the great men of the state, the "patres," the great consuls, the great tribunes, senators, statesmen and generals, and representing them as actually speaking again to their hearers, in senate and forum and camp? Finally, in what other way could he better hold the attention of his readers and reveal the policies and designs of statesmen and parties in past times than by reproducing the very words of the men who had favored and the men who had opposed those policies and those designs?¹

Furthermore, this graphic and dramatic method of representation was intended not only vividly to portray past events but also to hand down to posterity the characterization of the great men themselves who had played such important rôles in former times. So, for example, Livy, instead of recounting the crimes of Appius Claudius, allows his reader to discover the unspeakable character of the latter from the terrible arraignment of the infamous decemvir which is put in the mouth of Virginius. Again, to pass by numberless examples, we have a far more lively picture of Scipio and a higher idea of his character and attainments, both as a statesman and a general, from the speeches which Livy reports him as delivering before

¹ O. Kohl, "Ueber Zweck und Bedeutung der Livianischen Reden." Progr. Barmen, 1872.

the senate and the army, than we could possibly have from any mere enumeration.

Thus the spirit in which Livy wrote his history is best illustrated by the speeches; they give the tone to the whole work. And this is true not only of Livy's history, but of Roman history in general, from the time especially, when Roman history passed, like every other Latin art, under Greek influence. Thus Sallust and Tacitus, as well as Livy, composed their histories, imitating, in the matter of inserted speeches, Herodotus, Thucydides and Polybius. But there is a difference to be noticed between the work of historians prior to Livy and Livy's own work. All the earlier writers of history cited speeches as they cited laws and documents, that is, they took care to insert real speeches into their narrative, speeches either actually delivered, or reported by tradition as delivered. Even Sallust had tried to make the discourses found in his work at least substantially authentic.¹ The most that any previous historian had ventured was to vary the form, without materially changing the substance of the reported speeches. But many of the speeches found in Livy's work are purely imaginary. He sat in his study, and without making any claim for the authenticity of his speeches, deliberately evolved from his own richly endowed mind many of those masterpieces of oratory, whose style and form are little less than faultless. He was the first historian of antiquity to incorporate into his work speeches entirely original with himself, both in content and form; speeches of which he himself was the sole author. He was the first, therefore, to emancipate the historical oration from the narrative and to make it a purely artistic device. This of itself is enough to mark Livy off from all the other writers of antiquity and to signalize his merit, for it marks a stage in the development of letters, a conscious extension of that which was most characteristic of ancient history, namely, the discourse. It marks in Livy a conscious extension of the sphere of the historical oration; the final emancipation of the speech from the narrative, and the use of the oration as a purely artistic device. A curious analogy is found to exist between

¹ E. Lang, "Das Strafverfahren gegen die Catalin. u. Cæsars u. Catos darauf bezügliche Reden bei Sallust." Schoenthal, 1884.

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the rôles played by the speeches in ancient history and the chorus in the Greek drama. Their development, their use, and their fate, are almost identical. At first the chorus was necessary for the unfolding of the plot. But as the drama developed it gradually emancipated itself from the chorus, until finally the chorus ceased to have any vital share whatever in the unfolding of the plot; then it came to pass, that the chorus was added simply for the sake of ornament. So the speech at first was looked upon as necessary for the narrative, and as long as that character attached to it, an evident effort was made by the historian to report only such speeches as were at least substantially real; but as history developed the narrative was gradually emancipated from dependence upon the speech, and the latter was left to go its own way. Finally, in the hands of Livy, the speech ceased to be merely ancillary to the narrative; its province was enlarged; it acquired, we may say, complete autonomy; it was no longer cited as a mere source or a document, but solely as a specimen of oratory. Those superb orations found throughout the Livian history are, therefore, largely Livy's own work. Judged merely as examples of the varied possibilities of Roman eloquence, and apart from their historical value, their excellence is pre-eminent. Indeed, in the minds of many modern critics, and from some points of view, their merits are not inferior to those of Cicero's work itself.¹ Cicero's orations are largely concerned with public and political life alone. Livy's orations cover nearly every possible subject. He speaks for all sorts and conditions of men. His eloquence is most flexible; it accommodates itself to all causes; he pleads for all parties, plebeian and patrician, for Romans, Samnites, Greeks and Carthaginians; not stiffly, but naturally and without effort. There are speeches in the senate, speeches of tribunes in the forum, speeches of generals to their armies, speeches of ambassadors—in a word, speeches touching every phase of Roman life, public and private, civil and religious. There is even a speech in Livy which gives us a glimpse

¹ Cf. for example, C. E. Güthlung, "De Titi Livii Oratore Disputatio." Progr. Leignitz, 1872, where the author cites Nägelsbach, Wesner, Kreitzner, Krah, and Kühnast, all of whom consider Livy's excellence as a stylist but little inferior to that of Cicero. See also Taine, p. 232 sqq.

of the "new woman" of antiquity, where old Cato speaks of "Roman matrons and Roman women crowding the streets to the forum, treading the forum itself, canvassing the voters in the interest of their petition."¹

We have already had occasion to note some of Livy's shortcomings as an historian. All the handbooks of Roman Literature are unanimous in condemning Livy's uncritical methods. They all repeat the story of his contradictions, his careless use of valuable historical sources, his want of historical perspective, his inability to distinguish the relative importance of historical facts. Niebuhr sums up this adverse judgment in the following words: "For a mere annalist a clear survey is not necessary, but in a work like Livy's it is of the highest importance, and no great author has this deficiency to such an extent as he." Now this criticism, severe as it is, only accentuates the fact that Livy is not an historian. As an orator, however, as an artist, all are agreed that he stands on the very pinnacle of excellence.² In his speeches he is a master of style; and as such he has no peer in the domain of Roman eloquence. Livy was a youth of sixteen or thereabouts when Cicero was assassinated by Anthony's soldiers. And Vergil had passed away, leaving the great *Æneid*, while our author was still busy upon the latter portion of his history. The period of Livy's literary activity thus falls exactly at the point when Roman letters, prose and poetry, had both reached their zenith. No further growth seemed possible. Cicero had given the classic prose its ultimate perfection. Vergil had exhausted the possibilities of poetic finish. Thus Latin prose came to Livy from the hands of Cicero, developed, mature, ripe, with its perfect bloom upon it, with no sign of decay about it. But its beauty was the loveliness which precedes dissolution. The end was in sight, for the older elements so skilfully employed by Cicero, were spent: deterioration was inevitable, unless a new, vivifying principle could be engrafted. That new principle came from Livy. As he had been the first to broaden the sphere of the oration in

¹ It is curious to note that this petition was concerned with dress and jewelry.

² Riemann, p. 15 ff., "On sait que T. Live n'est pas du tout un historien au sens moderne du mot . . . son histoire doit être considérée bien plus comme une œuvre d'imagination et de sentiment, que comme une œuvre de science."

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history, so he was the first to bring oratorical prose under the influence of poetry. And in this poetic element which he introduced, Latin prose came to a newer development; it took on a new lease of life. Livy's prose is no longer the severe *sermo urbanus* of the later Republic. It has taken on a certain warmth of coloring hitherto unknown; it has admitted poetic phrases hitherto confined exclusively to the sphere of poetry. Vergilian imagery is clearly traceable throughout his work. In a word, Latin prose in the hands of Livy has lost its stiffness; it has become supple and pliant. With its enlarged vocabulary, with its increased volume and flexibility, it lends itself without effort to all the varying needs of our author's great work, where the classic prose had proven rigid, and where the contracted prose of Cæsar or of Sallust had proven monotonous.¹

Nor was this Livy's last service to oratorical style; as he had enlarged the vocabulary of prose, and made it plastic, so he unfettered its sentence arrangement from the hard and fast periodic structure, developed by Cicero, carrying the period to a complexity and using it with a freedom and a daring never dreamed of by even Cicero himself.

The power to develop an idea oratorically, and the power to picture a great emotion passionately, are the two greatest talents given to an orator. These talents not even Cicero possessed in larger measure than Livy. The end of all eloquence is persuasion and the greatest orator is he who best knows and can best bring to bear the means of persuasion. Now the means are proofs. To develop an idea is to prove it by secondary ideas, and these by other subordinate ideas, and so to the end, until the chain of reasoning is complete, until all objections are foreseen and answered—until, in a word, full and final persuasion is secured. It is then the great art of the orator to bring it to pass that the proofs he employs are valid in themselves and ordered in their sequence, that the ideas mortise easily and firmly, each with its neighbor, and that built together they form as it were a beautiful arch destined to carry a single proposition. Now this art of development is more regular in Livy than it is, at times, even in Cicero. In

¹ G. Petzkens, "Dicendi genus Tacitinum, quatenus differt a Liviano." Diss. Berol. 1888. See also Riemann, p. 14 sqq.

reading Cicero a whole page is often seen at a glance, in reading Tacitus the same line must often be read twice or thrice; but in reading the speeches of Livy, everything is read, is read once, and one thing only is read at a time. His measure is faultless, avoiding both the abundance which overpowers, and the brevity which fatigues. The onward movement of his ordered progress is irresistible, never too hurried, never too deliberate. There are innumerable examples of this masterly development to be found throughout our author's orations.

One of the most justly celebrated passages in all of Cicero's works, is the touching peroration to his speech Milo. Cicero introduces his client for Milo before the judges, and represents him as pleading his own cause. Milo broken with emotion and striving bravely to keep back the tears, reviews the injustice which he has suffered at the hand of Clodius; and then sobbing a blessing upon the city he loved so well, and upon those who condemn him to exile and death, he concludes with this beautiful sentiment:

"Valeant, valeant cives mei, valeant,—sint incolumes, sint florentes, sint beati;—stet hæc urbs præclara, mihiq; patria carissima . . . ego cedam atque abibo, si mihi republica bona frui non licuerit at mala carebo, et quam primum tetigero bene moratam et liberam civitatem in ea conquiescam."

Now the same forceful presentation is found in Livy and used by him with no less effect. There is, for example (VII, 30), a speech by the ambassadors of the people of Capua to the Roman Senate. The Campanians have been defeated by the Samnites and their city Capua is besieged and about to fall into the hands of their hereditary enemies. The ambassadors are introduced to the Senate and they speak as follows: "Conscript fathers, the Campanian nation has sent us its ambassadors to solicit at your hands perpetual friendship and present succor." Then the reasons for the alliance are given and the speech ends with this fine peroration:

"For you will the fields of Campania be ploughed; for you will the city of Capua be filled with inhabitants; you will be reckoned by us among our founders, our parents, our gods. Not one of your own colonies shall surpass us in fidelity towards you. Grant then, Con-

script Fathers, to the prayers of the Campanians the nod of your irresistible, your providential aid; bid us hope that Capua will be saved. Multitudes escorted us on our setting out. Full of vows and tears we left every place. Think then, how eagerly the Senate and people of Campania, our wives and children, expect us. At this moment they are standing at the gates watching the road which leads from hence; impatient to know what answer, Conscript Fathers, you may order us to bring them. One answer brings them safety, life and liberty; another,—there is horror in the thought. Determine about us as about a people who are either to be your friends and allies, or not to exist at all."

The flexibility of Livy's oratory is not only evidenced by the varied kinds of eloquence which he employs; it is seen also in each single speech. Each one of his orations is the development of an emotion as well as an idea; and in that development the movements are varied as the undulations in a current. We are carried along by the tide; in an instant the change comes, we cease to judge of ideas, a human voice is heard, and each word uttered has the voice's own tone, most complex yet most natural. There is no weariness, for there is no monotony. Livy's orators do not labor, like those in Sallust, to be always brilliant or concise or profound. They are all of this, and they are more, for they are human. Variety of sentiment and variety of human endowment are found in them all, and all constraint is absent. The author is not the exponent of any particular style or school of oratory. No talent dominates, no special taste asserts itself or vitiates his eloquence. On the contrary, fancy, imagination, science, dialectic and rhetoric are all used in due measure, and all are subordinated to the spirit of oratory. Opposite sides are taken in debate, clashing themes and varying tones are assumed by his orators, and yet nothing is forced, nothing is unnatural. Their presentation is unlabored, their speeches are masterly. Compare, for example, the speech of Valerius (III, 17) with the speech of Cato for the Oppian Law (XXXIV, 2). Again, in the speech of Vibius Virius (XXVI, 13) we have a typical specimen of Livy's artistic method. For two years the Romans have besieged Capua; the people are reduced by the war and wasted by famine. They can hold out no longer, the end has come. For

the last time their senate is in session. Some of the senators are in favor of surrender and submission to Rome, and Vibius Virius rises to speak. Listen, now, to a man who has determined to die, not in the thick of battle by the weapons of his foes; but by poison: not in anger or in frenzied desperation; but after cool deliberation. He has opposed Rome from first to last; he has fought and lost and he is still unconquered. One can detect in this speech, for it is typical of scores of Livian speeches, how Livy habitually develops his theme: how the opening sentence contains in advance the whole mass of proof: how the simple recital becomes a terrible sequence of threatening argument: how, as the speech gathers way and the facts accumulate, the situation grows each moment more desperate, until at last, the solution is found in death. Here is part of the speech:

"Those who spoke of sending ambassadors, and of peace and a surrender did not consider what they themselves would do if the Romans were in their place, and what they must expect to suffer from them. We have revolted from Rome; we have put to death the Roman garrison; we have invited Hannibal, their hereditary foe, in the hope of crushing them. And you would sue for mercy. Vain suit! When there was a foreign enemy in Italy, and that enemy Hannibal; when war blazed in every quarter, they, neglecting every other concern, neglecting Hannibal, sent two consuls with two consular armies to attack Capua. For two years they have surrounded us waiting for their prey—and now you look for mercy. Here is a proof of the mercy you may expect. Hannibal, sent by us, assaulted their camp and took part of it, but still they remained here at Capua. Crossing the Vulturnus, he laid waste Cales with fire and sword; even this calamity called them not away. He gave the order of march to Rome itself; even this storm ready to burst on their heads they likewise slighted. Passing the Anio, he encamped within three miles of the city and at last advanced to the very walls and gates and prepared to take Rome itself, unless they quitted Capua. They did not raise the siege. Wild beasts inflamed with blind fury and rage may be drawn away to the assistance of their young when their dens are threatened. But not the Romans. Not even the blockade of Rome itself, nor their wives and children, whose lamentations might almost be heard here; not their altars, their houses, the temples of their gods or the graves of their fathers profaned and violated, could draw them away from

Capua, so keen is their resentment, so eager their thirst for our blood. I know not how you will decide, but as for me my course is taken. Never will I be dragged in chains through the city of Rome, to grace a Roman triumph; never, never will a Roman scourge fall upon my back, or my neck go under a Roman axe. Never will I see my native city demolished and in ashes, nor the Campanian matrons and virgins dragged away to captivity and servitude. Their own city of Alba they razed to the very foundations; and Capua they hate more than Carthage. Those of you who will may come to my house. A banquet is prepared, food and wine in plenty. The cup I shall drink will go round. That cup will save our bodies from torture, our minds from insult, our eyes and ears from the sight and hearing of all the horrors, the cruelties and indignities which await the conquered."

Example of such superb oratory abound in every book of Livy's history; and while their historical value may be small, they prove nevertheless that our author has all the imagination, reason, and feeling of a great orator. Indeed, if we take a larger view, Livy's whole work will seem but one grand oration, one grand panegyric of Rome. Rome and her people are his unending theme. Rome's apotheosis is his largest and most abiding work. The elder Seneca, one of Livy's ablest literary contemporaries, observes in a fine passage that when historians reach in their narrative the death of some great man, they give a summing up of the whole life as though it were an eulogy pronounced over his grave. Livy, he adds, does this always with unusual grace and sympathy. The remark may bear a wider scope; for the whole of his work is animated by a similar spirit towards the idealized Commonwealth, to the story of whose life he consecrated his splendid literary gifts. As the title of "*Gesta Populi Romani*" was given to the *Æneid* on its appearance, so the "*Historia ab Urbe Condita*" of Livy might be called with no less truth a funeral eulogy—*Consummatio totius vitæ et quasi funebris laudatio*—delivered by the most loving and most eloquent of her children over the grave of the great Republic.

JOHN D. MAGUIRE.

ST. THOMAS' THEORY OF EDUCATION.

It was natural that pedagogics should hope great things from the new and vigorous growth which psychology, in the last few decades, has taken on. Those especially who saw in the modern science of mind the promise of exact analysis and even of "psychical measurement," were encouraged in the idea that experimental results would quickly find their way from the laboratory to the school-room. Applied psychology would thus put an end to the vagueness and the fear of failure which are so heavy a part of the teacher's burden.

The misunderstanding, of course, was not any fault for which psychology could be held responsible; and psychologists, or some at least among them, have protested plainly enough against what they consider exaggerated notions. At the same time, eminent authorities have insisted on the necessity of strengthening pedagogical science with philosophical principles. Methods and rules and experience, they tell us, have a value which it would be hard to overestimate; but beneath these there is a groundwork upon which the teacher must build if the structure is to be solid. He must understand the real nature of mind before he can judge safely of any method and get from its application the desired results.

But again, as the nature of mind is determined by each system in its own way, that philosophy will commend itself to the teacher which sets before him the highest ideals and enhances the worth of education itself. A materialistic or rigidly mechanical view of mental life, whatever be its theoretical claims, does not meet the practical needs of the teacher. Unless he can be sure that there is something responsive in the mind, some power of initiative that transforms and develops what it receives, his efforts will scarcely exceed the limits of routine. So it happens that the spiritualistic view, just because it provides for self-activity and freedom, is regarded with more favor. With Plato and Aristotle the teacher has surely deeper sympathy than with any form of materialism. And the philosophy of the Middle Ages, despite its short-comings in respect

of physical science, appeals more forcibly to seekers after the spiritual than some of the systems which have taken its place. It may, then, be of interest to pass in review the doctrines of a Schoolman who combined in a remarkable synthesis the philosophy of the Greeks, the traditions of the Christian Church and the genius of an age in which the foundations of modern culture were laid.

The pedagogical principles of St. Thomas are set forth in one of his minor works, the "*Quæstiones Disputatæ*." These discussions, as they may be called, cover a wide range of topics and give perhaps a better idea of the author's breadth and penetration than can be gotten from his principal work, the "*Summa Theologica*." The exposition is fuller and freer, the list of objections which precedes each "article" is longer, and the answers are more detailed. After the severely concise treatment which the "*Summa*" presents, one is apt to imagine that the "*Quæstiones*" were written in a mood as nearly informal as the author ever permitted himself.

Under the general caption, "*De Veritate*," St. Thomas develops at some length his theory of knowledge and, after explaining more particularly the nature and limits of human knowledge, introduces the question which interests us here, and which bears the title, "*De Magistro*." It is divided into four articles, to each of which is prefixed the invariable word of interrogation, or of methodical doubt, *utrum*. In direct form the inquiries are: Can one man teach another and be called master, or does this belong to God alone? Can any one be said to be his own master? Can man be taught by an Angel? Is teaching a function of the active, or of the contemplative, life? Taken literally, such questions, so far as they suggest doubts as to the possibility of education, appear no less strange in the pages of Aquinas than they would in a modern text-book for teachers. His own life would have been a sufficient answer. And if his purpose in raising these issues were simply to establish with force and flourish of dialectic a fact that no one denied, he would have mistaken for once his own position as "*magister*." In reality, however, he is concerned not so much with the simple answer to his questions as with the proc-

ess itself of education. And so, while he asks, *Can* man be taught, he answers by showing *how* man is taught.

On the other hand, we need not expect from the "*De Magistro*" anything like a treatise on educational practice. Living and working in the heart of the academic world, St. Thomas was certainly familiar with the details of organization and method which had found their way into the University of Paris. That there was no lack of regulations, and that these were the subject of frequent discussion, must be plain to any one who has looked into the "*Chartularium*." It is likely that both St. Thomas and his preceptor, Albertus Magnus, contributed their share towards framing the statutes and directing the academic exercises by which the students of that day were controlled and instructed. Many of these enactments had a direct bearing upon the training of teachers, and they were no doubt brought home in a practical way to the candidate for academic position. But with these St. Thomas is not concerned. What he seeks to clear up is the rationale of the teacher's work, the philosophy that underlies the whole process of education. Hence, the views offered us in the "*De Magistro*" are theoretical, not only in the sense that they make no appeal to the teacher's actual experience, but also in the deeper sense that they attempt to base the work of education upon the very principles which serve as foundations for the Thomistic system of philosophy.

At the outset of the discussion, we find a parallel drawn between three processes of development: the physical, the moral and the educational. The acquisition of knowledge is coördinate with the attainment of virtue on one side, and on the other, with the production of those "forms" which determine the nature and the properties of things in the physical order. In regard to these three processes, opinions diverge and the divergence, in each case, follows the same lines. Those who held, for instance, that transformations in the realm of Nature are the work of extra-physical agencies, were consistently of the opinion that habits of virtue were impressed upon the soul by a superior external influence and that knowledge flowed into the mind from an outside source. According to the opposite view, knowledge is innate in the mind just as moral qualities

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are innate in the soul and natural forms are latent in matter. All that the external influence or agency effects is the removal of hindrances and consequently the manifestation of these hidden endowments. Similarly, education consists in rousing the mind to the full consciousness of the knowledge which it has within itself, so that learning is simply another name for remembering.

St. Thomas rejects both views and in their stead proposes what he calls a *via media*, based upon the teaching of Aristotle. Applying to all three processes the fundamental distinction between *actus* and *potentia*, he maintains, for the physical order, that natural forms preëxist potentially in matter and are actualized by the action of external agents; and for the moral order that certain inborn tendencies—"beginnings of virtue"—are subsequently brought by exercise to their full development. So far, then, his theory is, in the main, an attempt to hold the balance between internal activity, whether physical or moral, and changes that are brought about by environment. We have now to look somewhat more closely into his corresponding theory of education.

Preëxisting in the mind, he says, are certain germs of knowledge—*rationes seminales*. This expression, which is adopted from St. Augustine, has no exact equivalent in English, though the concept is familiar enough even in modern philosophy. It means something more than bare potency and something less than actual existence or process. The term "*rationes*," at all events, cannot be literally translated, as though the mind brought into the world a store of ready-made "*reasons*" or of propositions upon which the reasoning faculty could at once be employed. On the other hand, a "*ratio*," as here understood, is not merely the intellect nor any other cognitive power in its pre-active condition. It is rather, as the word "*seminalis*" indicates, an initial endowment out of which further processes develop.

Elsewhere ("*Summa Theologica*," I, Q. CXV, Art. II), St. Thomas, accepting the definition of St. Augustine, says that by *rationes seminales* are meant all qualities, active and passive, from which production and action originate. These energizing principles, as we may call them, pertain to various orders of

causality. Primarily, they are in the Word of God as ideal conceptions in accordance with which all things are made. Then, by the work of creation, they are implanted in the elements of the world, *sicut in universalibus causis*. They persist in the particular productions resulting as time goes on, from those causes, in this plant, for instance, and in this animal. Finally, they reside in the generative elements whereby plant life and animal life are transmitted.

This fourfold application, or better perhaps, expansion of the Augustinian phrase, shows how thoroughly St. Thomas had grasped the fundamental notion of development. The very vagueness of the term "rationes" is in a measure accounted for when we see that it has to do service in such widely different spheres. While the range of causation is narrowed down—from the efficiency of the Divine action to the reproductive process of this or that organism—one and the same conception recurs. It is that of latency, of germinal capacity which, in due course and under natural conditions, unfolds and matures.

In keeping with this general theory, St. Thomas explains his application of the "rationes seminales" to the incipient stage of mental growth. The germs of knowledge which pre-exist in the mind, are those concepts, such as being and unity, which spring from the first intercourse of the mind with the outer world. As factors in this earliest form of knowledge he distinguishes the intellect itself, the process of abstraction and the reports of sense-perception. Universal ideas, though they are not absolutely innate, result nevertheless from the spontaneous action of the intellect the moment its light is turned upon the presentations of sense. In these ideas are contained, potentially, all particular items of knowledge; and the transition from this first implicit cognition to the more fully defined knowledge of each object, constitutes the process of learning.

A thoroughgoing criticism of this view would lead us far into the field of epistemology and psychology—an exploration which could not well avoid the positions of Leibnitz and Kant. But apart from such considerations, one may reasonably seek a more complete understanding of the Thomistic theory itself. So far it is clear that there is some sort of "psychic founda-

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tion" for education and that self-activity has an important rôle to play. The "self" in question is obviously the intellect, or more precisely, the *lumen intellectus*; and so the question arises as to the origin of this "light." The answer is not ambiguous. "This light of reason whereby such (self-evident) principles are known, is shed upon us by God, being, as it were, a reflection in our minds of uncreated truth." The metaphor here is, perhaps, unavoidable; but its significance appears when we remember that the "*rationes seminales*" which are everywhere operative in nature, come also from the Divine intelligence. In other words, the germs of all development in the physical order and the seeds of knowledge in the mental order have the same origin, to wit, the ideas in God's mind. There is not, however, any intimation of a preëstablished harmony which would guarantee the validity of every judgment passed upon the nature and relations of things in the objective sphere. Only in so far as our deductions can be logically traced back to principles, do they possess certainty, and of the principles themselves we are sure because of the "*lumen rationis*" through which "God speaks in us." Hence, we may say literally, that at every step of our advance in knowledge we depend upon God not merely in a general way as the Author of our existence, but also in a more special manner as the source of those luminous principles to which we refer the findings of discursive thought. He, therefore, must be acknowledged, without figure of speech and independently of any appeal to piety or mysticism, as our first and principal teacher.

The mind evidently comes into the world under a sort of divine stimulation to acquire knowledge. It brings, in its natural constitution, the requisite preparation for commerce with its environment. It cannot, therefore, but gain some measure of knowledge, however crude and disconnected, by dint of experience. St. Thomas, accordingly, admits that the mind is capable of self-instruction (*inventio*), and that such unaided acquisition is an evidence of superior power. Yet he holds that, strictly speaking, no one teaches himself. The metaphysical principles to which he appeals and the physical illustrations which he brings forward in support of this view, would hardly get a favorable hearing from the present generation

which is prone to admire the "self-taught" man. But one cannot help agreeing with him when he says that the teacher should possess, *explicite et perfecte*, the knowledge which he pretends to impart. There is, in fact, a broad difference, too often overlooked, between the ambitious but indefinite notions of science which the brilliant pupil entertains and those calmer self-possessed modes of judgment and appreciation which denote the master. And the difference, of course, is greater between the one teacher who "just keeps ahead" and the other who gives out of that which he has made his own "explicitly and perfectly."

Education properly so-called (*disciplina*) must, in order to produce the best results, derive its methods from that which the mind instinctively follows in acquiring knowledge by its unaided efforts. The teacher has to lead his pupil not along an arbitrarily chosen path, but along that which is marked out by nature. The perfection of his art lies in the avoidance of the artificial. We have here the gist of St. Thomas' theory. He had certainly gotten beyond the point of view of those zealous persons who, from time to time, feel constrained to remind the modern world that instruction and education are not identical. The reminder, no doubt, is often needed; but it is apt to lose somewhat of its efficacy when it conveys the idea that the distinction in question is a recent discovery. St. Thomas does not even allude to those pedagogical mistakes which are now so vigorously condemned as "cramming," "forcing," filling the mind with "unorganized material" and generally "stunting its growth." Nor is he much concerned about the etymological problems as to whether education should mean a drawing-out or a drawing-up. What he insists on is a due regard for the fact that the mind is self-active. And though he makes free use of such terms as "potency" and "potential," he distinguishes quite clearly between capacity as equivalent to passive receptivity and capacity in the sense of ability to act. Whatever exists in the former is helpless; it has to be drawn out by external agency, and its inertia may in some cases reduce the extraction to a process of dragging. Mental ability, on the contrary, is, by its native energy, the principal cause of its own development. It comes forth instead of being drawn out; and

if it accepts the aid of others, it does so to facilitate its action and not to surrender or transfer its intrinsic power.

The teacher, therefore, accomplishes his task *adjuvando et ministrando*. He acts with regard to the mind, says St. Thomas, as the physician with regard to the body. The physician ministers to nature, applying the remedies which the organism uses as instruments in the work of self-restoration. The teacher, likewise, though he does not deal with abnormal conditions nor aim at re-establishing a mental vigor that has been lost, supplies the mind the assistance it needs and the means it requires for its orderly and healthy action. Mere instruction avails about as much as the dose, however powerful, which is given to a depleted system. In neither case is there any vital response.

Coming to details, it is plain that the teacher must understand the spontaneous processes of the mind which he undertakes to train. The advance from general ideas and principles to particular applications and conclusions, is the natural course of development; and in conformity with this the scope and method of education must be determined. Now the teacher finds in his own thinking just this discursive process. To communicate it by word or other appropriate symbol so as to lead the pupil through the same stages of reasoning, is the essential part of the teacher's work. He does not hand over to the disciple blocks of knowledge of his own making and require them to be stored up under more or less significant labels. Nor is it his purpose to exhibit mere patterns of thought which the mind, recipient and imitative, shall copy. For though St. Thomas fully appreciates the importance of imitation, and though he holds that the knowledge acquired by the pupil must be similar to that which the teacher possesses, he also insists that the learner's mind shall take the principal part in the process.

This may be made clearer by a brief survey of the activities which coöperate with the intellect. The symbols alluded to above—*rerum intelligibilium signa*—being the spoken or written words of the teacher, appeal to the external senses. Immediately, therefore, they are objects of sense-perception and as such they may also become, through reflection, objects for the intellect. But as signs they convey a meaning, and it is

this that the higher faculty perceives. The mind penetrates beyond the visual and auditory impressions to their intelligible content, *i. e.*, to the principles which they express; and from the principles it advances, by its own effort, to the conclusions.

Here, however, a difficulty presents itself, based on a statement of Boethius to the effect that teaching merely stimulates the mind by indicating objects for its cognition. It cannot, therefore, be said to cause knowledge any more than he who points out a visible object can be said to cause the act of vision. Useful as such an external ministration might be, it would not imply a real formation of the mind through the teacher's agency.

In his reply to this argument, St. Thomas insists on the difference between visual function and intellectual process. The eye, he says, sees at a glance all visible objects that come within its range. It does not infer from the sight of one object the presence of another; it is intuitive, not discursive. At most, it needs, or may need, direction, as when we look at anything to which another calls our attention; and in this case, it is true that he who directs the vision does not cause it. A parallel is found in habitual knowledge, the *habitus scientiæ*, that is, knowledge already acquired but not actually present in consciousness. When the mind is led by any sort of suggestion or excitation from without to revive and consider what it has already learned, it behaves like the eye, following with its own activity the indication that is given. It is otherwise with the process of acquisition. In passing from the known to the unknown, the intellect is not in precisely the same situation with regard to every one of its objects. Some it grasps intuitively—the *per se nota*; others it reaches by bringing out to explicit knowledge what is contained implicitly in self-evident principles. Just here it needs the teacher, not simply as a guide, but as one who by his words sets the intellectual faculty in motion and to this extent causes its advance in knowledge. To use the scholastic phrase, he is a *motor essentialis*. Under his influence, the mind issues from its potential condition into that of actual cognition; whereas he who directs the vision or stirs the mind to a new survey of its own possessions, plays the part of a *motor per accidens*.

The comparison between mental vision and bodily vision seems destined to survive. It is not without honor in the psychology of our day. As an illustration, for instance, of the theory of apperception, it is useful if not indispensable. The shifting of the attention from object to object is quite naturally likened to the eye-movements, which enable us to fixate point after point in the visual field. And as we distinguish the images formed upon the central retina from those which appear in its lateral portions, so we speak of ideas or images upon which the attention is focused and of others which, though within the range of consciousness, are indirectly, and hence less clearly, perceived. To complete the account of these changes, it is customary to point out the difference between voluntary and involuntary attention; the former is controlled by the will, while the latter is determined by some other cause, such as the intensity of the sense-impression.

St. Thomas, it is true, did not accord to attention the place of prominence that it holds in modern psychology. Incidentally, however, he employs some of the distinctions with which we are now familiar. Referring to a statement of St. Augustine, he agrees that the formation of mental images does not suffice even for the function of imagination; there is needed, in addition, the process of attention. He further admits that if attention were always voluntary, no impression could be made upon the mind by any created agency, even of an intellectual nature such as he attributes to the Angels, since God alone can dominate the will. But, he adds, the stimulation of any sense-organ, and consequently of any organic faculty, may compel attention; so that, whether we will it or not, the imagination may be thrown into activity by external impressions.

Quamvis intentio voluntatis cogi non possit, tamen intentio sensitivæ partis cogi potest; sicut cum quis pungitur, necesse habet intendere ad læsionem; et ita est de omnibus aliis virtutibus sensitivis, quæ utuntur organo corporali; et talis intentio sufficit ad imaginationem.

The intellect, according to the general scholastic theory, differs from the sensory faculties inasmuch as it is not organic.

It cannot, therefore, be forced to act by sudden or intense excitation coming from without and affecting it subjectively. It may, however, yield to a sort of objective compulsion as it does when it assents to inevitable conclusions. Even a human teacher, provided he use the right sort of demonstration, may confront the intellect with propositions which it must of necessity accept. In this case, evidently, what constrains the intellect is neither the intensity of the sensation produced by the teacher's words nor the vividness of the ideas which flash into consciousness, but the logical nexus which binds the ideas and which the intellect cannot help perceiving. Much, then, of the teacher's success depends upon his skill in exhibiting the linkage of thought with thought so that even less capable minds may be trained in orderly deduction. In other words, he affords assistance to his pupil, not as though he were a superior being, but "*inquantum proponit discipulo ordinem principiorum ad conclusiones, qui forte per seipsum non haberet tantam virtutem collativam, ut ex principiis posset conclusiones deducere.*" (*"Summa Theol.,"* I, Q. CXVII, 1.) This is equivalent to saying that the instructor's own processes of reasoning should be so conducted as to serve as an object lesson for the student. Weaker minds are to be strengthened, not by overloading with a multitude of vaguely apprehended ideas and principles, but by drilling in the logical arrangement of those ideas which they are able to master. If the aim of education is to quicken self-activity, a most important means to this end is that feature of method which accustoms the learner to look beyond each item of knowledge as it comes to him and note, according to some principle of order, its manifold relations.

But the most highly gifted minds will not develop to any considerable extent unless the perceptions of the present moment are reinforced by knowledge that has been previously acquired. Memory, though not the chief factor with which the teacher has to deal, must still be taken into account. And curiously enough, the "*De Magistro*" quite overlooks the memory. The omission is all the more singular, because in the preceding question "*De Mente*," two long articles have memory for their subject. St. Thomas, in fact, holds that knowl-

edge of the past precisely as past, is a function of the sensory faculties. "Then" and "now" are particularizing conditions which do not come within the province of intellect. Hence, strictly speaking, memory is a process of the brain. On the other hand, we certainly recall ideas that were once conceived by the intellect, though, in the meantime, they have not been actually present. Apparently, we ought to accept the explanation which Avicenna gave: the moment an idea passes out of actual apprehension, it escapes completely from the grasp of the intellect. What remains is at best a certain disposition or facility in recurring to the external source from which the idea was originally derived. St. Thomas, however, is not willing to accept this view. He maintains that the intellect preserves within itself the "species" or ideal forms, after using them in the act of cognition. Though he nowhere describes them as things stored up, he claims that they are set in order as items of the habitual knowledge which the mind acquires and upon which it can freely draw. This again would seem to imply that the mind, as it grows richer in experience, becomes entirely independent of the organic factors to which it was first indebted. Intellectual memory would thus secure us against any possible break-down in the organic sphere. Knowledge would be stereotyped. And such an inference we might reasonably draw were it not that St. Thomas carefully avoids this extreme. "Granted," he says, "that the intellect retains its concepts, still it never makes actual use of them without turning back to the images from which it obtained those concepts. It needs these *phantasmata* after it has laid up its stock of habitual knowledge, just as it did before." The act of remembering, then, involves the revival of what the intellect, on its side, has retained, and the coincident revival of impressions that have been stored in the brain. Here, obviously, a sort of parallelism is suggested, though it could hardly be called "psycho-physical."

The application of this doctrine to the question in hand is not difficult. The system of signs, spoken or written, by which we are taught, must leave their traces in the brain, and their interpretation must remain in possession of the intellect. Each reproduction of an idea means a deepening of the organic

impressions; but it also means a renewal, and therefore a strengthening, of mental activity. Memory contributes its share to the process of education not so much by "dint of repetition," "fixing" or "stamping" as by affording the reasoning faculties fresh opportunity for exercise.

The salient features of the Thomistic theory which has here been outlined may well serve as the basis for a philosophy of teaching. In the first place, knowledge is essentially a product of the mind and learning is a growth in self-activity. Education, consequently, is no mere imparting or infusion; it is rather a solicitation, suggestion and direction, by which the mind is prompted to exert its natural power in normal ways. The process includes three moments: innate ability in which the germs of knowledge are contained, the teacher's ministration, and the reaction of the mind whereby it gains a knowledge of its own, albeit conformed, more or less perfectly, to the copy which the master sets.

Secondly, while the chief stress is laid upon the development of intellectual function, due notice is taken of the subordinate faculties. Sense, imagination and memory coöperate both in the first acquisition of knowledge and in its retention. Their importance is clearly shown by St. Thomas when he declares (*"Summa Theol.,"* I, Q. LXXXV, 7) that they account for individual differences in mental capacity. In proportion as they are more thoroughly developed, the grade of intelligence is higher. And generally speaking he says that vigor of mind corresponds to soundness of body, so that the healthier organism ensures superior intellectual attainment. "*Cum in hominibus quidam habeant corpus melius dispositum, sortiuntur animam majoris virtutis in intelligendo.*"

But the third and most significant teaching in the "*De Magistro*" is that which attributes the principal part to God. For this implies that the human teacher, not figuratively but in a very real sense, coöperates in a divine work. Hence his dignity as well as his responsibility. It is surely no mean service that he is called to perform in fostering and developing the *scientiarum semina* which God himself implants and vivifies. Nor is it a trivial task that he undertakes when he leads the mind to conclusions the ultimate value of which must

be determined by their relation to Original Truth. Quite aptly St. Thomas cites from St. Augustine: "*Solus Deus cathedram habet in cælis qui veritatem docet interius; alius autem homo sic se habet ad cathedram sicut agricola ad arborem.*"

E. A. PACE.

MIDDLE ENGLISH POEMS ON THE JOYS AND ON THE COMPASSION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY.

Among the subjects treated of by English devotional poets in the later Middle Ages, those named in the title of this paper enjoyed an unusual share of attention. English poets always took up eagerly the endless theme of praises of the Maiden Mother, and in the lyrical field emphasized especially her joys and her sorrow at the foot of the cross. These contrasted emotions were often mentioned side by side, in prayers both public and private, in hymns and in other lyrics. Not only were her joys and her woe unique in human history, but, from their association with the plan of redemption their relation was so close as often to make them a single topic for meditation and poetical expression. For this reason the two groups of Middle English poems inspired by those subjects respectively are here considered together.

The important place in the intellectual and æsthetic history of Christendom occupied by the Joys, and particularly by the Sorrows, of Mary, it would be difficult to overestimate. One has only to call to mind the *Stabat Mater*, its relation to music and the *Mater Dolorosa* in painting, to realize that this theme has asserted for itself a distinguished place among the world's treasures of the three finest arts. It cannot, then, be uninteresting to consider what was sung on such a subject by the devout poets of England before the great age of English poetry began. The Joys of Mary, though severally they have inspired some masterpieces of the brush, have not had a Jacopone da Todi to give them a poem to rank with *Stabat Mater*. Yet, throughout Europe, and particularly in England, the theme produced a very considerable body of narrative and lyrical poems. In the present paper mention is made of such poems only as are at least tinged by one or both of the essential qualities of the lyric, subjectivity and music. Many short poems lacking both these features are nevertheless conveniently classed as lyrics.

The chief Joys of the Blessed Virgin were commonly thought of among English poets as being five in all, namely: the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Resurrection, the Ascension, the Assumption. The number, however, and the series also, sometimes varied. On the subject of the Five Joys there were at least eleven Middle English Poems, a number considerably larger than is generally supposed. The earliest are three which date from the thirteenth century, and are probably the best known of the series. Two of them,¹ written before 1250 and in the Southwestern dialect, are fairly similar in content and structure. Their method is that generally used in poems of this class—narrative of several mysteries and congratulation of Mary upon the bliss she experienced. In most cases this is not conducive to truly lyrical expression. Where narrative and exposition do not prevail in poems of this kind, their place is commonly supplied by petition, praise, or the plentiful use of symbolism. The third poem,² which has been preserved in the dialect of the Southwest, though composed by a Midland poet, is in some respects one of the most interesting lyrics of the series. In every respect, except in subject and metrical form, it differs from all the poems on the Five Joys. It is, briefly, a religious *pastourelle*; there is a Cavalier, the greenwood, the search for diversion, the thought of a beautiful maid. The praises of the beloved, couched in purely secular terms, run through seventeen lines. Only at the eleventh line do we get a hint that the Blessed Virgin is the object of the poet's love, and this does not alter the tone of the lines that immediately follow. A study of the diction shows that this secular coloring is due to the influence of the contemporary English love lyric which in turn was based on the popular French *pastourelle*. Old French poetry contains at least one well-known example of the adaptation to religious purposes of the framework and language of the *pastourelle*, viz., the very pretty lyric by Gautier de Coinci;³ Middle English has, besides the present poem, two fair examples. This combination of devotional tone

¹ Morris' "Old English Miscellany," p. 87; Wright's *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*," I, p. 48.

² Boeddeker's "Altenglische Dichtungen," p. 217.

³ Bartsch, "Altfranz. Romanzen und Pastourellen," Int.

and secular or amatory phraseology, drawn partly from the Song of Solomon and partly from the poetry of the day, was never disedifying in England as sometimes in Germany, though occasionally it produced results not in accord with the best taste of that, or any, age. As specimens of a poetical style that found high favor in the Middle Ages, and has since been rarely used in religious verse, I quote a few phrases from this *pastourelle* on the Five Joys:

Ase y me rod pis ender day
by grene wode to seche play
mid herte i pohte al on a may
suetest of alle pinge.
.....
he is mi solas nyht & day
my ioie & eke my beste play
ant eke my louelongynge.
.....
of alle pinge y loue hire mest
my dayes blis, my nyhtes rest.

Many of these phrases are borrowed from secular lyrics found in the same collection.

In Part Four of "Cursor Mundi" is a "Song to Our Lady," upon the Five Joys. This lyric, in common with that last mentioned, differs from the other poems of the group in substituting the Epiphany for the Ascension. The dialect is Northern; the date, after 1300. The stanzaic form, although written as four lines and printed as five lines by Morris, the editor, and by Horstmann,¹ is constructed on a system of six lines, of which the fourth and sixth rime, and are composed of two iambs. This is simply an artistic variation of rime-couée, familiar to us in Burns. The phraseology, while of a kind with that of the two poems first mentioned, shows a freer use of simile, but not the symbolism of love. The Blessed Virgin is addressed as "My leved fre," "quite als leli floure," "Moder o liue wid flur and fruit, Rose and leli þu sprede ay wide." Among the poems of William of Shoreham,² a Kentish priest, who

¹ "Anglia," I, 392.

² *Percy Society Publications*, Vol. 28.

flourished about the year 1330, is a long narrative of the various Joys experienced by Mary between the Annunciation and her Assumption into Heaven. Though he emphasizes the Visit to Elizabeth and the Purification, the poet distinctly counts as the chief joys the five usually found. The significance of these facts will be seen below. In the Vernon MS.,¹ dating not later than 1730, there are four poems which concern us here. All are written in a mixed Southern and Midland dialect, though the rimes show that the third² is of Northern origin. The second is superior to the others on account of its concrete and terse expression, and its freer use of gracious titles of Mary, without, however, the symbolism of personal love. The poet emphasizes the joy at the Resurrection by recurring to the bitter woe that went before. The fourth poem,³ "A salutacioun to ure lady," undoubtedly contained, in an earlier form, a congratulation on the Five Joys. At line 24 the poet says:

Wiþ fyue Joyes I þe grete
Ladi, here my song.

He immediately tells of the Conception and Birth of Christ, the first two of the usual Joys. Thereupon follows a curious detailed blessing of Mary in all her senses and faculties. The editor of the volume notes that at the end of the stanza on the Nativity, some lines seem wanting. Either this is so, in which case the missing stanzas would probably tell of the other joys, or the poet woefully rambled from his text. The detailed blessing of Mary is perhaps to be traced to a Latin poem of the twelfth century, given by Du Méril.⁴ A further illustration is found in the "Hymnus Loricæ,"⁵ where a blessing in even greater anatomical detail is asked upon the one praying. Mone states that minute specification of this kind is a characteristic of early Irish hymns. The last Middle English lyrics on the Five Joys are two fifteenth century Midland Carols printed in Wright's "Songs and Carols." The first has as its title the words "Of a rose, a lovely rose, of a rose I syng a song." The

¹ "Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.," Horstmann.

² P. 133.

³ P. 121.

⁴ "Poésies Populaires du Moyen Age," p. 223.

⁵ Mone, "Latein. Hymnen," Vol. I, p. 237.

Rose, Mary, has five branches, that is, Joys. The obscurity arising in this poem from the confusion of the literal and the symbolical meanings is so great as to make it uncertain at times what mystery is being described. These popular Carols are in the measure common to that species of fifteenth century poetry—stanzas of four lines, of which the first three rhyme, and the fourth, which is frequently Latin, either is a refrain or rhymes throughout.

We have, then, in all, ten lyrics on this subject, or, including the confused and probably incomplete *Salutacioun* in the *Vernon MS.*, eleven. No one of them reaches a high degree of of poetical merit—neither the courtly *Pastourelle* nor the popular Carol—and the latest are no better than the earliest. There is no reason for assuming any genetic relation between the several poems in the group. Latin measures and modes of expression prevail, except in the *Pastourelle*, which stands alone in many particulars. In spite of the influence of Latin hymns upon these lyrics, it is curious to note, as Dr. Brandl has pointed out,¹ that the usual number of Joys in those hymns is not five but seven. Brandl, however, generalizes incorrectly when he says, in the place referred to, “*Gaudia—in England sind es regelmässig fünf, auf dem Continent sieben.*” The number five was neither peculiar to England nor absolute there. In Mone’s “*Lateinische Hymnen*,”² two hymns from German MSS. celebrate Five Joys; Mone cites a German homily in which the letters *M A R I A* are made to correspond to Joys; in Wackernagel, “*Das Deutsche Kirchenlied*,”³ is a thirteenth century German lyric with the same number; four French poems are based on the number five;⁴ the Latin hymns speak variously of five, seven, eight, twelve and fifteen, Joys. Nor was the number five absolute in England. While we have seen that it is in the highest popular favor, there is evidence of a tendency to depart from it. The introduction of the Epiphany, and of Judgment Day, in various poems, and the emphasis laid by William of Shoreham upon two joys which, though he does not count them, are usually among the seven of the

¹ Paul’s “*Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie*,” II, 623.

² II, No. 600.

³ II, 152.

⁴ Reinsch, in *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, III, 200.

Latin hymns, show that the number was not regarded as fixed and absolute. Stronger proof is not lacking. Two of the most popular Latin hymns on the subject, celebrating respectively the seven earthly and the seven celestial Joys, were attributed to St. Thomas of Canterbury. Indeed, it is safe to accept as certain the opinion of the learned Redemptorist, Rev. T. E. Bridgett,¹ that the general popularity of the subject in England was due to its association with Becket's name. Of the hymn on the Seven Joys in Heaven, attributed to him, there were at least three Middle English translations; the first, about the year 1400,² by John Mirk, a canon of Shropshire; the second, by Robert Fabyan, who ends each of the seven parts of his chronicle with a stanza from the hymn; the third, in 1508, by D. T. Mylle.³ There is a further lyric on the Seven Joys still in MS. The number fifteen, also, is found in England, in a Latin poem by John of Hoveden, and in an unprinted English poem from the French, said to be by Lydgate.

These instances of English and Continental usage sufficiently refute Professor Brandl's unqualified statement. Yet there is in it enough truth to cause us to inquire why the number five had the greater vogue in England. The answer seems to be that the number five contained a greater number of symbolical connotations suitable for the purpose in hand than did seven. While the latter agreed with the number of devotional hours, and with the days in the week, the former was often spoken of in connection with the Five Wounds of Christ, and with the letters in the word Maria; finally, and, I think, chiefly, there is the fact that from the eleventh century the English, and for a considerable period, they alone, kept five great yearly holidays in honor of Mary.⁴

The subject of the mother's woe on Calvary, while treated of early and frequently by Greek poets,⁵ fastened very late

¹ In his interesting and scholarly work, "Our Lady's Dowry."

² Horstmann's "Altenglische Legenden," II, cxvi.

³ Furnivall's "Political, Religious, and Love Poems," 145.

⁴ For completeness' sake I should mention a poem on the "Five Joys," belonging to a period somewhat later, first printed 1538, and quoted in full in Bridgett, p. 67.

⁵ In the *στανρωθεοτοκία*; see one of the sixth century by Romanos, in Christ, "Anthologia Graeca," p. 81. The "Christus Patiens," a Euripidean drama, formerly attributed to St. Gregory Nazianzen (Migne, S. G., vol. 38), makes the grief of the Blessed Mother the central dramatic and lyrical motive.

upon the imagination and sympathy of the West, though finally embodied there in the most pathetic hymn of the Middle Ages. The words of St. Ambrose, "*stantem illam lego, fletum non lego*," may imply that though he knew of the tradition of Mary's sorrow, he did not choose, as a theologian, to assert it as a historical fact. The name of St. Augustine was frequently associated with a sermon beginning "*Quis dabit capiti meo aquam?*" which portrayed in a high lyrical tone the grief at the foot of the cross, and which was widely used as a model of the vernacular Laments. Such a sermon I have not been able to find in his printed works. The subject, however, occurs again and again in Latin garb, in the form of narrative hymn, personal complaint, lyrical dialogue and impassioned sermon. The brief Latin versified dialogues for public presentation, of which an excellent specimen with its appropriate music is given by De Coussemaker,¹ while they were important on the Continent,² did very little for the development of the theme in England. Yet the motive took a strong hold upon the English mind. Besides an important Latin prose dialogue, attributed to St. Anselm, and a thirteenth century Anglo-Norman poem, it inspired not less than seventeen Middle English lyrical poems, and parts of five religious dramas. This indicates a much greater popularity than in France, where the number of single poems on this specific subject was very small.

The chief Scriptural texts employed were the Prophecy of Simeon, concerning the sword which was to pierce Mary's heart, the statement in the Gospel of St. John that the Mother stood by the cross, and some verses of Jeremias (9: 1), and of Lamentations (1: 12, and 2: 13), symbolically referred to the sorrowing Church and the sorrowing Mother. The use of these sources is almost universal. For fuller light than the Scriptures gave, recourse was had to the traditional account embodied in the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus (*Gesta Pilati*).

The thirteenth century offers us four English examples. Two Southern lyrics on the Passion, which emphasize particu-

¹ "*Drames Liturgiques du Moyen Age.*"

² Especially in Germany, where the Lament, in Latin and in the vernacular, was at an early period and down to the Reformation, an extremely important form of the religious drama. See Schönbach, "*Die Marienklagen.*"

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larly the grief of Mary, have been printed by Jacoby.¹ The first belongs only somewhat loosely to the class of poems called Complaints, the second, more definitely. Both are probably translations from Latin hymns, but Jacoby was able to find only one brief parallel. Both poems include narration in the person of the poet, description, the expression of feeling, and a slight dramatic element, in the one case introduced by the consoling words of Christ, in the other, by the poet's words addressed to the Mother. The poetic tone and the relatively elevated style of these lyrics, are fairly represented in these lines from the second of the poems mentioned:

Sone after þe nith of sorwen
 Sprong þe lip of edi morwen
 ine pin herte, suete may.
 þi sorwen wenten al to blisse,
 þo þi sone al mid iwisse
 aros hupon þe tridde day.

From a period shortly after that of these two poems, and from the neighborhood of Chester, we have a Lament, given by Napier, "The History of the Holy Rood Tree," side by side with the Latin poem of which it is a fairly close translation. The Latin is a narrative in the historical present, and in the third person; the English addresses Mary directly and uses the past tense, somewhat in the manner of the "Stabat Mater." The change is important, as it shows an attempt, frequently repeated in Middle English, to infuse a more direct lyrical element, and to compose a *Plaint* rather than a sympathetic narrative. At the end of the thirteenth century, finally, was composed one of the most artistic English poems on this subject, one worthy of the remarkable anthology in which it is found.² It was called by Wright "Stabat Mater," and was said by Boeddeker to be unmistakably related to that poem. In reality, there is nothing in common between the Latin classic and this English *Tenson* or *Debate*, except the subject, the introductory words, and the metrical form.³ Words of grief and of con-

¹ "Vier M. E. Gedichte."

² Boeddeker's "Altenglische Dichtungen."

³ The "Stabat Mater," so popular throughout the Middle Ages, does not seem to have made a great impression in England. It influenced no extant Middle

solation are alternately uttered by Mary and by Christ, and a brief statement of the joy at the Resurrection concludes the poem. This simple, pathetic lyric, written during what may be called relatively the Golden Age of the Middle English lyric, I have been unable to trace directly to an original, though the interchange of words by Mary and her dying Son is found in a Dialogue of St. Anselm and a Sermon of St. Bernard.

From the fourteenth century we have three poems in which the central figure is the sorrowing Mother on Calvary. As contrasted with those already mentioned they are characterized by greater length and complexity. At the end of the "Cursor Mundi"¹ is a Lamentation which becomes especially interesting on account of its source. It is a dialogue of over 700 lines, between the poet and the Blessed Virgin, concerning her sorrow at the Crucifixion. The writer refers to no original, but mentions incidentally the clerk that made this book. Now the whole poem follows, incident for incident, and thought for thought, a Sermon of St. Bernard on the Passion.² More than this, 341 lines are literally translated from that work, and those remaining are based on it substantially, so that we need not look elsewhere for a source. The poem covers the incidents of the Passion, as the Blessed Virgin saw them, and tells of her woeful words and frenzied acts at the foot of the cross, and of the patient, soothing words of Christ. We have here, for the first time in English, that detailed account of Mary's actions which developed in some later poems into extravagant, sometimes indecorous, expressions of grief. Similar in content and in general treatment to this poem is a Lament by William Nassyngton, a lawyer of York,³ formerly attributed to Richard Rolle, and to Richard Maidensston. This rather popular poem has for its source, as Kribel has pointed out,⁴ the Sermon of St. Bernard mentioned above. Kribel found about half the

English poem, and, though found in late MSS., was not used in the office of the English Church. (Julian's "Dictionary of Hymnology," s. v.) It is interesting to note that the only mediæval composition on this subject that is of lasting poetic power, was not expressed in the characteristic mediæval form of Debate or Complaint.

¹ Ed. Morris, "Early English Text Society." Part Four, p. 1368.

² Migne, Series II, vol. 182, col. 1133; "Englische Studien," VIII, 67.

³ Horstmann, "Yorkshire Writers, Richard Rolle," II.

⁴ "Englische Studien," VIII, 67.

lines of the poem to be taken from the Latin, but beyond this noted very serious differences, for which he offered no explanation. They consist chiefly in the introduction of a number of questions asked by the Saint, and the attribution to Mary of words which in the Sermon are uttered by the writer. Now this is precisely what occurs in St. Anselm's "*Dialogus de Passione*."¹ Hence it is probable that Nassyngton made free use of these two Latin works. An instance of the tendency to artificiality and complexity in this class of poems, is found in the "*Dispute between Mary and the Cross*,"² which belongs to the Southeast Midland territory, and perhaps to the third quarter of the fourteenth century. The Dispute is conducted on the part of Mary with sufficient directness, feeling and dignity, but on the part of the Cross with a series of confused and indecorous metaphors and symbols. Mary calls the Cross Christ's stepmother, and amplifies very vividly the contrast to her love. The Cross rejoins that it is the tree bearing the new fruit which is to counteract the evil wrought by the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge; it is our book of pardon, written in red and blue; these and other symbols are worked out with unpleasing literalness. Holthausen³ gives side by side with part of this poem the probable Latin source, which is found in the volume for 1880 of the Old French Text Society. This Latin poem is a thirteenth century Dialogue between Mary and the Cross, which uses to some extent the same sequence of ideas, and, in a less literal and inelegant form, the same symbolism with the English dispute.⁴ The antithesis between Christ and Adam, Mary and Eve, the Cross and the Tree of Knowledge, with a very real basis in mystical theology, was taken up by the poets of the people for picturesque effect, and rigidly applied to related circumstances, with effects sometimes incongruous. This exaggeration is carried further in a poem of Hoccleve, "*Lamentacioun of the Grene Tree, complaynyng of the losyng of hire appill*."⁵ This is translated

¹ Paris ed. of his works, p. 488.

² Morris, "*Legends of Holy Rood*."

³ Herrig's "*Archiv*," 105, p. 22.

⁴ Compare also a Latin Debate in Mone, "*Schauspiele des Mittelalters*," I, 37.

⁵ In "*The Regement of Princes*," ed. Furnivall, and in "*Hoccleve's Minor Poems*," same editor.

Two of these, having in common their introduction, metrical form, and the refrain, *Filius Regis Mortuus Est*, have been printed by Dr. Furnivall¹ as variants of a single Lament. In reality they differ entirely, not only in structure, as narrative and pure lyric, and in tone and content, but also, as the rimes indicate, in dialect, as Southern and North Midland. The common introduction places us in mystical landscape where the poet meets a lovely lady in tears. One poem amplifies purely the Lament and introduces some jarring elements of the kind previously mentioned; the other gives us, in addition to a briefer lament in a higher tone, the joyful tidings of the Resurrection. That two such poems from different parts of England should, as it were, have been hung in the same frame, is very curious. The three remaining lyrics of the century are brief utterances in popular style. One,² beginning in a strolling singer's vein, promising a tale better than ale or wine, is continued in the person of Mary. All kinds of jarring improprieties disfigure this poem. A second,³ which has a brief, mystical landscape introduction, extravagant frenzy of grief, and a jogging, inappropriate metre, is redeemed by the pathetic refrain, *Who cannot weep come learn of me*. This line, as it differs in metre from the rest of the poem and occurs elsewhere, I suspect to be borrowed. The third poem,⁴ of Northern origin, so popular as to have been transcribed at least three times, is a simple, restrained appeal of the sorrowful Mother to other women to look upon her woe. It is rich in concrete, pathetic touches, due to the concept of almost purely human sorrow; it is a mother's plaint and no more. The joy of other women in fondling their happy babes is vividly contrasted with the unrelieved sorrow of Mary over the bruised and tortured body of her dead Son.⁵

¹ "Political, Religious, and Love Poems."

² "Chester Plays," II, 204.

³ Furnivall's "Hymns to the Virgin and Christ."

⁴ "Chester Plays," II, 207; "Reliquiae Antiquae," II, 213.

⁵ This poem, with a few mentioned above, brings home forcibly the difficulty of properly adjusting the portrayal of the natural and the supernatural emotions of the mother on Calvary. The attempt to humanize her great sorrow was certain, in itself, to lead to good results poetically, and the English poems contain many lines of high lyrical quality. The expression, however, of purely human grief, and of indignation, was sometimes carried too far. See Migne's criticism of this defect in the "Christus Patiens," and his argument based thereon, against the authorship of St. Gregory Nazianzen.

In the late Northern play for Good Friday, published in the "*Reliquiæ Antiquæ*," and also in the "*Digby Plays*," we have the only instance in England of a complete and independent drama in which the Sorrowful Mother is the central figure. Of a total of 864 lines in the play, distributed among seven or eight characters, Mary has 312. These are variously grouped and are all purely lyrical. The usual complaints, appeals to death, imprecations, occur again and again. The fact that her words are arranged in three metrical forms, and that two refrains which she uses are found in poems mentioned above, suggests that the lines have been gathered from various sources. Of this, however, I have found no other indication. In each of the four chief Mystery Cycles the sorrow of the Blessed Virgin is made the chief element in a brief lyric scene. The Coventry and the Chester play treat the motive simply and with little dialogue. In the York and Townley plays Mary has a much longer part, broken up by fairly complex dialogue. In these four plays I find no verbal borrowings, either from one another or from the lyrics. The elements of Mary's sorrow, her pathetic references to Christ's wounds, allusions to His Infancy, appeals to the bystanders, reproaches against the Jews, pathetic attempts to embrace the cold figure on the cross, and finally her swooning, incidents found in the Gospel of Nicodemus, are all based indirectly on St. Bernard's homily and St. Anselm's Dialogue, and on the English tradition derived thence and embodied in the "*Cursor Mundi*" and in the "*Lament*" of William Nassyngton.

J. VINCENT CROWNE.

THE LITERATURE OF CHIVALRY.¹

Chivalry, like the melancholy of Jaques, is compounded of many simples, extracted from many objects, the result indeed of its much travelling. Allowing for certain primary, original, enduring elements (love of war, religion, and of women), it has varied more or less in all times and places. It has not been everywhere the Norman's which was adventurous and gay, nor the German's which was home-staying and coarse, nor the Italian's which was somewhat mercenary, nor the Spaniard's which was jealous and grave. Still less was it the same at all epochs. Roland is not Launcelot nor the Cid nor Du Guesclin nor the Black Prince; Du Guesclin is not Sir Philip Sidney, nor yet is he the Southern cavalier, still less a Sir John Guinness who brews such excellent stout, nor a Sir Thomas Lipton who cures equally good hams; whilst the modern New York gentleman is different from them all. Therefore it is a manifest impossibility to cover the entire field of chivalric literature in these few pages. We must select that which strikes us as the most characteristic, the least disfigured portrait. The choice is not difficult in some respects. The student well versed in medieval lore will admit readily the predominant position occupied by France in almost every

¹ *Bibliography.*—On the *Chansons de Geste* see "Les Epopées Françaises," by Léon Gautier (7 vols., second ed., Paris, 1878-1882); "La Chevalerie," by the same (1 vol., Paris, 1895). Also the separate critical editions of particular chansons by various authors. On the Cycle Breton see "Les Romans de la Table Ronde," by Paulin Paris (5 vols., 1868-1877); "Les Romans de la Table Ronde," by H. de la Villemarqué (1 vol., Paris, 1861); various articles in the "Histoire Littéraire de la France," vol. V, 197-209, 234-275, 246-254, vol. XXX, pp. 1-270; "Romania," vol. X, pp. 465 et seq., XII, pp. 459 et seq. On the Irish Epic and the Mabinogion see "Cours de Littérature Celtique," by H. D'Arbois de Jubainville and J. Loth (7 vols., Paris, 1883-1900). For general reference and comparison see "Littérature Française" and "Poésie au Moyen Age," by Gaston Paris; also "Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature Françaises," by Charles Aubertin (2 vols., Paris, 1894). In English there are scarcely any works deserving of notice. The "History of Chivalry," by Charles Mills (2 vols., London, 1826), is a valuable treatise despite its age, but the author makes the traditional error of not seeking any authorities older than Froissart. The latest English book on "Chivalry," by F. Warre Cornish (London, 1901), is calculated to confuse still more the already hopelessly confused English reader, owing to its seemingly utter ignorance of the fact that chivalry varied in different countries and epochs. For Provence and the influence of the Troubadours see BULLETIN for April, 1902.

department of thought and speech and action. Citeaux, Char-treux, Clugny testify to its lead in religious reform, the Uni-versity of Paris to its intellectual supremacy, the Mohammedan fear of the "Frank" to its leadership in the Crusades, the rivalry of the Langue d'Oil with the Latin as a universal tongue to the widespread influence of its thought and manners; and so on in other departments France stands unique as that country which more than any other represents the Middle Ages.

But French chivalry itself varied from age to age. Here again therefore the necessity of another choice, but also not a difficult one. Following the opinion of no less a critic than M. Jules Quicherat we say "*Le plus grand siècle du Moyen Age, c'est le douzième,*" at least so far as France is concerned. It was the age of the crusades, of the university, the solidification of national unity, the rise of French prose and of the French epic; in a word the age of Bernard, Philip Augustus, Abelard. Now three classes of literature distinguish the twelfth century in France—the beginnings of French prose under the form first of romances and translations, then of sermons and chronicles, the immediate predecessors of Geoffrey de Ville-hardouin, himself the inspirer of Joinville and Froissart; then the rapid development of the French "*Epopée*" in the *chansons de geste*, begun however in the preceding century; lastly the almost sudden rise of those prose and poetic "*Romans*" of the Round Table which so completely displaced the *chansons de geste* in popular favor. Now which of these contains the most faithful portrait of chivalry at its best? Certainly not the historians, to begin with. Froissart depicts it in its degeneracy; both Joinville and Villehardouin, faithful and brilliant as they are, do not give such a complete, living and colored portrait as the two other forms of literature. The choice therefore is narrowed down to either the *chansons de geste* or the Breton romances. But here the choice is somewhat difficult and must depend upon personal taste. The present article sees in the earlier *chansons de geste*—above all in that of Roland—a picture of chivalry in its original purity; rough indeed but vigorous and healthy, the very breath so to speak of the crusades and of feudalism, the very atmosphere of the

Middle Ages, the creative spirit of that age of creation, uncontaminated as yet by the refinement of the Celtic legend. As M. Gautier says, "La France est la plus épique des nations modernes. Elle a possédé au Moyen Age une épopée nationale et chrétienne. Et la Chanson de Roland est notre Iliade. Les chansons de geste; c'est la qu'on trouvera la peinture la plus exacte de la chevalerie et des temps chevaleresques."¹ Still, as above remarked, it is largely a matter of taste. To many the savagery of Raoul de Cambrai, even of Roland, will make them long for the refinement of Launcelot or Tristan. Be it so. The following pages merely attempt a rapid survey of both fields of literature, leaving the reader to judge for himself according as his sympathies are Teuton or Celt, and, if the parallel be not too offensive, according as his mental cast be Catholic or sceptic.

And though the present writer states his preference for the former somewhat brusquely, nevertheless he fully sympathizes with those who, enthralled by the music of Tennyson's verse, love, like Gareth the knight, to seek in spirit

"Camelot—city of shadowy palaces,
And stately, rich in emblem and the work
Of ancient kings who did their days in stone;
Which Merlin's hand, the Mage at Arthur's court,
Knowing all arts, had touched, and everywhere
At Arthur's ordinance, tipt with lessening peak
And pinnacle, and had made it spire to heaven.
And ever and anon a knight would pass
Outward or inward to the hall; his arms
Clashed, and the sound was good to Gareth's ear.
And out of bower and casement shyly glanced
Eyes of pure women, wholesome stars of love."

1. THE "CHANSONS DE GESTE."²

The foundation of the French Epic probably dates from the close of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century, though the earliest known version of the most ancient

¹ "La Chevalerie," p. xii; *Epopées Françaises*, vol. ii, p. 794.

² As there are no exact equivalents in English the present article uses throughout the French names such as "chansons de geste, romans, cycle Breton," etc.

of its poems can not be placed earlier than about 1175. The reason for its appearance at that particular period is plain—all the conditions for the formation of an epic were then existing. These conditions are fourfold. First, an epoch must be a primitive one, characterized by a comparative absence of refinement, of criticism, of science, of history unmixed with legend; an epoch, in a word, whose thought is not consigned to writing, but is sung by the lips of a people. Secondly, is required a certain unity of faith, be it Christian or Saracen, Roman or Jewish; the kind matters not, provided it is great enough to bind a people in that grand union which lies at the base of the epic. Thirdly, momentous and partly disastrous events of war. Peace is hostile to the epic. The latter sings chiefly of war, and is never so eloquent as when celebrating some great defeat in which the hopes of the entire nation seem for a moment dashed to pieces, but are retrieved afterwards by an equally glorious victory. Lastly is required the presence of great heroes, the living representatives of the characteristics of the race. Thus Achilles is the ideal type of the Greek at the heroic stage of his history, Hector of the Trojan, and Roland of the Frank.

All these conditions existed in the tenth century in France. Allowing for a certain culture among the clergy, the Frenchman of that epoch was even more primitive than his Merovingian predecessor, who had still retained some remnant of earlier Gallo-Roman culture. The age was altogether military, heroically so. It was ever at war, ever in arms, never in repose of any length. Hardly did it take time to ease itself of its armor. For instance, the great William "au court nez," who, after his disastrous defeat by the Saracens, returns all weary and blood-stained to his castle, but, at the exhortation of his equally heroic wife, rests not in well-earned repose, leaps again to saddle and rides hard on to Paris for reinforcements. So it was war all the time and everywhere—war with the pagan Northman, the Mahometan Saracen, among the Christians themselves. Moreover, the Franks were become slowly but surely solidified in a natural unit by the definite formation of a common tongue, by the constant attacks of a common enemy who was as well the implicable foe of their com-

mon Christian faith, by the gradual rise of the Capetian dynasty to the headship of the former political chaos. Nor were great and disastrous events wanting to inspire the Trouvères. Popular legend told of the victory of Charles Martel in 732, the defeat of Roland at Roncevaux in 778, that of William at Villedaigne in 793. Heroic figures there were in Homeric abundance. Towering above them all, the well-nigh superhuman figure of Charlemagne "à la barbe fleurie"; gigantic in stature as well as in mind and heart; the wise legislator, the zealous missionary, the patron of learning, above all the invincible conqueror, whose armies for over forty years held in awe all Europe from the Ebro to beyond the Rhine; the only solid rock of unity against which the multitudinous waves of political confusion had dashed themselves in vain. Soldiers, clerics, all saw in him the depository of their religious and natural hopes—the Napoleon, so to speak, of the early middle ages, for whom the admiration of succeeding generations lives on despite the knowledge of his vices. Legend clusters around him until he becomes even like a Josue at whose bidding the sun stands still so as to allow him time to avenge Roland's defeat. Around him gather Roland, Oliver, William, Ogier, like Achilles, Diomed and Ulysses around Agamemnon. Surely with memories such as these, in such favorable conditions, a people must have been sad indeed could they not have found in them sufficient inspiration for a national epic.

France did respond to the impulse. Under the guidance of that strange moving which comes to individual men and people, at certain crises the Trouvères break forth into song—the chansons de geste begin their long and glorious existence. But the Trouvères owed much to preëxisting tradition and poetry. From time immemorial the deeds of Charlemagne and his twelve peers had been the subject of traditional tales; above all, they had given birth to the "Cantilenes"—these short, lyrical popular songs composed in German like that of "Saucourt" or in romance like that of "Saint Faron." These were the immediate inspiration of the chansons de geste. The Trouvère collected them, drew from them his inspiration, often his subject, occasionally his very words, and thus composed his own poem which issues partly from his own brain, partly

from tradition, partly from ancient popular poetry. Like Shakespeare he works on the rich ore of the past, and by his dramatic skill fashions his own poems by the force of his own native genius: and like Shakespeare again, his remote inspiration was a great national development; for Shakespeare it was Elizabethan England; for the Trouvères it was France of the first Crusade.

Our earliest version of any *chanson* dates, as we have above said, from about 1175. That is the "*Chanson de Roland*," the "*Iliad*" of France and of the Middle Ages; at once the most vigorous, the noblest, the purest of all, compared to which the rest, however ancient, evidence decay. Along with it the most ancient are the older branches of the geste of William of Orange, such as "*le Charrois de Nîmes*" and the "*Moniage Guillaume*"; then "*Ogier le Danois*," the ferocious "*Raoul de Cambrai*," "*Garin le Loherain*," "*Amis et Amiles*," "*Jourdain de Blaives*," "*Girart de Roussillon*." These earlier chansons constitute, as it were, the heroic age, lasting up to about A. D. 1137. To this succeeds the semi-heroic from the time of Louis VII up to St. Louis (1226): lastly the literary, from the 1226 to Philip of Valois, about 1328. Of the total number, we now possess about one hundred divided into the various major cycles (*cycle du Roi*, *cycle de Doon de Mayence*, *cycle de Garin de Montglane*) and minor cycles like the typically feudal "*cycle des Loherains*," the cycle of "*Raoul de Cambrai*," and lastly that of the "*Crusades*."

Now what is the spirit of these chansons de geste? It of course varies according to the spirit of the age which produced them, *i. e.*, the heroic, semi-heroic, or literary age. According then as a *chanson* approaches the first epoch it is more vigorous, more typical, less alloyed with foreign elements, less corrupt. To those earlier poems, therefore, must the reader turn who wishes to see them at their best, indeed, the typical medieval civilization in its pristine vigor. The tests are simple enough according to which he will be able to tell whether or not a particular *chanson* belongs to the heroic age—by heroic meaning "*un mélange de vertus et de vices spontanés, de pensées naïves et d'actions viriles, d'idées jeunes et presque enfantines, de conceptions sauvages et de mœurs presque barbares.*"

Mélange singulier et qui est particulier aux époques primitives."¹ They are the following: first, war and not gallantry is the dominant note; second, woman consequently plays a subordinate rôle; third, the supernatural, *i. e.*, Catholic faith, is supreme and unmixed with pagan mythology or Celtic fairy lore; fourth, legend is more prominent than mere fable, because legend is nearer to history which is always the remote basis of the epic, while fable is essentially unhistoric; fifth, simplicity of thought and expression, ignorance, *i. e.*, the innocent ignorance of children; sixth, vigorousness, energetic motion, healthy life as opposed to convention or formula.

Such, in a general way, are the characteristics of the earliest and best of the chansons de geste; the absence of any of them is a sure sign of the influence of a more refined spirit which begins to manifest itself about the middle of the twelfth century, which is alien to the true spirit of the Middle Ages, however fascinating it may appear in the Round Table romances and the chansons de geste influenced by them.

The reader however will understand these characteristics better after a study of the various ethnological and religious elements which went into the construction of these epic poems. But before taking up his study, he had best make peace with all his literary enemies, for his road is verily a dangerous one, leading often into unfriendly countries of criticism where his every step is dogged by literary foes. He might wish to be impartial, so far as not to choose sides between the conflicting claims of Teuton and Celt. But he will soon see his error. Choice is necessary. The Celt yet clamors for at least some share in the glory of having composed the chansons de geste, though apparently content with leaving most of it to the Teuton—his conqueror in this branch of literature as well as in politics.

He must be indeed an enthusiastic Celt who can see in the "chanson de Roland" any Celtic characteristics other than an occasional "opiniâtreté,—certaines finesses et gouailleries."² They are, in fact, poles apart. So with the earlier chansons generally. They have neither Celtic traditions, nor Celtic he-

¹ "Epopées Françaises," I, p. 197.

² Op. cit., p. 16-18.

roes, nor Celtic myths, nor Celtic names, nor Celtic ideas. The Romances of the Round Table are not Frankish, the chansons not Celtic. True, the later chansons will show the influence of the Round Table, but that will happen in an age of decadence, in the second epoch when much of the real heroism of the epic has softened into gallantry; when war gives way to women; faith to a musing, delicious scepticism or mocking raillery; the feudal warrior to the carpet-knights of the Bayard stamp; when Roland is forgotten in Du Guesclin, and knights read Froissart instead of singing the old chansons de geste; when Launcelot, the skilful, the handsome mythical Launcelot, will reign king of hearts both of ladies and men; when—well!—when heroic Roland dying, at Roncevaux for the defence of France, is no longer remembered by his own people all taken up with their admiration for the handsome seducer of his own king's spouse. So much for the Celtic in our chansons de geste: be it said with all due respect for those who differ from us.

Besides the Celt there are two other elements that demand passing attention. To the Roman the chansons owe their language, which is basically Latin: also a few souvenirs of Roman past. Otherwise they are Roman in neither manners, ideas of government, of law, nor in love of country, of "*douz France*." To Christianity, however, they owe their religious spirit entirely, at least until Celtic paganism infected them with its love of the marvellous. To it they owe their constant belief in a God, in "*Dex l'espírital*"—the antithesis of paganism: in God the Creator as opposed to the pagan belief in the eternity of matter; hence the so frequent expression "*Par Dieu le creator*," "*par Dieu qui tout forma*," "*qui fist la rose en mai*": in the divinity of Jesus Christ, "*de Dieu, le fils de sainte Marie*"—repeated with almost intentional anti-Arianism. So also to Christianity they owe their firm and constant belief in the Christian idea of man's destiny, in the ministrations of angels who carry to heaven the souls of the warriors fallen in fighting against the Musselman, carrying them "*dans les saintes fleurs du Paradis*." All this is so evident as to need no discussion: suffice to remark it here as an evidence of the lack of Celtic influence, which, despite its general

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Christian character, never was completely depaganized; its belief in magic, fairies, "good people" lasting—shall I say to 1250?—yea more—to 1902.

Allowing, therefore, for the great influence of Christianity from a religious point of view, the element most predominant in our chansons de geste is Teutonic: they are Teutonic in origin. But here we speak, not of proximate or immediate origin, *i. e.*, the Épopée developed in France not directly from a German source, but at an epoch when the various nationalities—Gaulish, Latin and Frankish, were no longer clearly separated, but were sufficiently fused to have each lost many of its characteristic traits; when from the mixture of races had issued a new nationality known as "romane." Moreover the Épopée never took into itself any of the German epic properly so called. We say only that of these three elements, the Teutonic has entered more profoundly, more directly into its formation despite the fact of its language being romance; that its spirit is German despite its romance form. "Le fond des sentiments, des idées et des mœurs est tout germanique. . . . L'épopée française, du moyen âge, c'est l'esprit germanique dans une forme romane. . . . germanique par son origine et romane dans son développement."¹ A closer study will evidence the truth of this position.

M. Gautier's opinion that, were it not for the German custom of singing of their ancient history and heroes, we would probably never have had a French epic, will doubtless seem rather extreme in view of the existence of the same custom among the Gauls. Still it is true in so far as the latter would hardly have found any inspiration for singing except in the ancient lore of *their own* history, and would have produced (what they really did later on) the Romances of the Round Table, which we agree with the eminent author in considering not epic but a degeneration of the epic spirit. At all events these same Germans did so sing, as Tacitus tells us: "Celebrant carminibus antiquis originem gentis conditoresque." Eginhard repeats this later on, when he tells how Charlemagne "barbara et antiquissima carmina quibus veterum actus et

¹ Op. cit., pp. 36, 37.

bella caneantur scripsit memoriæque mandavit." These "carmina" are the remotest ancestors of the chansons, and so the spirit of the *Epopée* is profoundly German. Study, for instance, its conceptions of war. The names of the warriors are German—Roland, Charles, William, Louis, Gautier, Regnault, Raoul. So also their method of warfare—rude, ferocious, pitiless; detesting peace, during which they are "dediti somno vinoque . . . mira diversitate naturæ cum iidem homines sic ament inertiam et oderint quietem," as in the days of Tacitus; their valor undisciplined—in every respect the opposite to the systematized, rational though equally pitiless, disciplined valor of the Romans or Gallo-Roman auxiliaries. Its idea of royalty neither that of absolutism, imperial Cæsarism, nor yet that of the hopeless political inconstancy and disunion of the Celt, but that of a monarchy firmly set as the keystone of political unity, though limited by the power of great feudatories. And here we see the most characteristic imprint of Teutonism—the feudal spirit, for the French Epic is merely feudalism put into action. All the chansons are about the seigneur and his vassal. "Pour son seigneur on doit souffrir grands maux," says Roland when about to die. Hence the chansons of private wars so well exemplified in Raoul de Cambrai. So too the notions of law and justice are Teutonic and feudal—the Torture, the Plait Royal, the Duevel, the messe du Jugement, Hostages, mode of punishment. Even the religious spirit, though profoundly Christian, still retains some of the savage Teuton's directness, naïveté, childishness, so opposed to either the soberness of the Roman mind or to the Celt's ineradicable love of the marvellous, of magic. In its concept of woman we seem to see a German imprint. Woman in the chansons is very far from the Christian ideal of feminine purity, but she is equally different from the refined Julias of imperial Rome, from the delicate though unchaste Guineveres and Vivians of Arthur's court, or even from the utterly shameless Ethné Ingubé and others of the Irish Epic. She is not always even as noble and chaste as "la belle Aude," Roland's promised spouse. On the contrary, she is (especially before marriage) passionate, frankly so, and makes love often without the slightest shame. "A la vue du premier jeune homme, sans hésitation, sans pudeur, elles se

jettent à ses pieds et le supplient de satisfaire la brutalité de leurs désirs. . . . Décidément, disent-elles, il est trop bel homme."¹ These are hard words. But granting their truth in many cases, still the women of the French Epic somehow or other do not impress us as so absolutely devoid of continence as those of the Irish Epic: with all their young passionate ardor, they are at bottom infinitely more heroic, even as women, than those of the Round Table, and somehow or other their very lasciviousness compared to the latter seems healthy, if such an adjective can be applied. Lastly, the very idea of the one God—so childish, so simple, so exquisitely familiar, is *toto cœlo* different from either the idols of the pagan Romans and Celts, or even the metaphysical subtleties of Roman Christianity.

To this deep Teutonic influence the French Epic owes both its literary virtues and faults. Take the earliest chansons as the best representatives, and what are their characteristics?

Only slightly touched by Roman or Greek civilization, these early poems are singularly wanting in art either of composition or of expression. "*L'art est absent, la composition presque nulle, il y a, ça et là des vivacités et des bonheurs d'expression; mais point de style, cette délicatesse savante des esprits cultivés, le goût, fait absolument défaut.* But withal they possess a charm which is irresistible, a grandeur which more than once reminds us of Homer. What then is the secret of this marvellous power? It lies in its fresh spontaneity, as young and nervous with life as the springtime. "*Tout y est plein, nerveux, serré . . . le métal est de solide aloi. Ce n'est ni riche ni gracieux; c'est fort comme un bon haubert et pénétrant comme un fer d'épée. Les vers . . . se suivent et retiennent pareillement l'un après l'autre comme des barons pesamment armés.*"²

The reader involuntarily thinks of the Iliad when he comes across the fiery description of some combat between two heroes like Roland and Oliver, or hears such peculiarly Homeric epithets as "*L'Empereur à la barbe fleuri*" like Homer's Achilles "*aux pieds légers,*" or when applied to a young

¹ Op. cit., p. 31.

² "Aubertin," I, p. 275.

woman "au clair visage" like the ox-eyed Juno of Homer. Utterly unconventional (except as to rhythmic composition) because they were not written at first but sung in the banquet halls before young knights eager to imitate Roland, or older warriors who had scaled the walls of Acre and Jerusalem or perhaps even crossed swords with Saladin. It is only when we come to the Round Table romances that we will meet with a striving after art, delicacy of expression, and a certain conventionalism. Just now our Frankish baron is too much of a soldier to bother his thick head with such subtleties, and so his poetry is, like himself, rough. But withal it is intensely human in so far as it is a faithful picture of early medieval society, "la peinture sincère des mœurs féodales saisie dans leur vivante originalité . . . le reflet d'un temps que les chroniques françaises, nées plus tard, n'ont pas connu dans sa primitive rudesse."¹ And now then what portrait does this poetry give of the typical feudal Frank warrior in the eleventh and early part of the twelfth century? Was he, according to it, a dreamy, cultured Launcelot or still more polished Bayard? By no means. The portrait reminds us more of the ferocious though brave Richard Plantagenet. That of a man whose character was childishly simple, as quick to weep over a fallen comrade as to slay a Saracen in cold blood; pitiless towards his enemies and expecting no pity in return; loving woman, of course, but subordinating that love to love of country, sweet France: loving mother Church at least enough to fight against her eternal Mahometan foe, though none the less careless of her anathemas when his own private interests were at stake. But war, incessant war, was his absorbing passion. He jousted before the ladies, not unmindful, it is true, of their admiration, but chiefly for the savage delight of the fighting. Far more than the blood that came and went on the cheek of his lady, he loved the sight of an enemy's blood staining his huge, straight sword up to the very hilt. In a word, a simple character. In it no shading of virtue into vice—no dreamy, introspective, myriad-colored soul of Launcelot, half pure, half false. It is either heroically good or hopelessly evil: either a Roland or a Raoul de Cambrai. Not the character of a mature intellect but of an over-

¹ "Aubertin," *ib.*

grown child. Such is the portrait given by the epic, "poésie d'enfant; poésie d'improvisateur; poésie de chanteur populaire . . . qui est assuré d'être toujours goûté par un public dont il est l'écho."¹ The reader will easily see that it is always a portrait, with the distinctively Teutonic features, of the early Middle Ages, despite the Latin and still more faint Celtic traits that appear here and there.

The above description refers, as already remarked, chiefly to the early chansons, because the later ones of the thirteenth century lose much of primitive vigor as the result of that gradual softening of manners so noticeable in the second half of the twelfth century. They do then become somewhat like in tone and style to the new literature demanded by the times. Our rough old knight begins at last to yawn a little over the interminable Roland and Oliver and "William of the short nose." And so he turns to the new Celtic literature that suits better his more refined tastes—to the romances whose heroes are more like himself, voluptuous, mystic, brilliant, forever making love to beautiful women, all the more tempting if the wives of others; or else perpetually jousting (rather harmlessly) on gay-caparisoned horses, clothed in highly colored, emblazoned and plumed armor before a galaxy of melting ladies; or wandering off in search of adventures into a weird world of giants, dwarfs, of enchantment and magic. True! the later chansons will strive to revive his flagging interest by adopting much of this new spirit, but their day is past. Our baron's chief Trouvère has now become Chrétien de Troyes; his typical hero not Roland but Launcelot: the angels who hovered over his forefather at Roncevaux are changed into the fairies of that unknown land of enchantment that belongs to no race or country or time; Charlemagne "a la barbe fleuri," gives place to Arthur; firm, undoubting Catholic faith to Celtic mysticism; the Saracen? Oh! well! Saladin is not such a bad fellow after all, even if he is a Saracen—besides these Crusades have become too frequent and expensive, and after all is it not better to negotiate instead of fighting? And so forth. In a word, the dominant passion is no longer war but love. It has been remarked that man is capable of but one

¹ "Epopées Françaises," *ib.*, p. 502.

great passion at a time. Our study affords a confirmation of the statement. At least the medieval knight was capable of but one at a time. In the beginning his great passion was war, and so he sang of it in the chansons de geste. Now it is love. Hence welcome to the Romances of the Round Table, to Arthur, to the "Cycle Breton."

2. THE "BRETON CYCLE."

Like the *Épopée*, the origins of this second branch of chivalric literature are to be sought for back in the legendary past. Its base is a medley of souvenirs of that long resistance of the British to their Anglo-Saxon conquerors, of yet more ancient traditions, far-away echoes of a racial poetry perhaps common to all Celts—all of which was preserved chiefly in popular songs, like unto the above mentioned cantilenes. Added to this primitive base are certain pious legends relating to the establishment of Christianity in Britain, certain fables from the Orient spread throughout the West by Jews, Spanish Moors and pilgrims from the Holy Land; also a motley collection of distorted facts and mythology from classic Greece and Rome. All these, taken as a whole, represent the convictions, the reveries, the regrets, the hopes religious and national of the Briton, understanding by that name the Celt chiefly in French Brittany, England and Wales. They constitute, to use a consecrated expression, the "*matière de Bretagne*." How far back it extends into the Celtic past is matter for conjecture. A more satisfactory subject is the study of the means by which it was preserved from generation to generation, until it came under the wizard touch of the Anglo-Norman prose and poetic writers of the twelfth century and with a bound sprang into the front rank of current lay literature. These means were principally the popular poetry (*lais*, corresponding to the cantilenes) and history.

It has been remarked above that the habit of preserving the knowledge of the past in song is characteristic of all peoples in their political infancy. Hence by the side of the Teutonic scalds singing their lieds or the jongleurs their cantilenes, the ancient Breton harpers are found composing their *lais* like their predecessors the ancient Gaulish bards. Thus in France,

even after it had become politically separate from Germany, we notice a double current of legendary, popular poetry—one Frankish, the other Celtic. To some extent the currents intermingled. Some of the most ancient chansons de geste, like “Astremont” make allusions to Breton poetry. Occasionally the Trouvères themselves enrich their repertoire with translations of the same, modifying the meter of their own poems to suit. The later chansons in fact very frequently show the marks of Celtic influence. However, the two currents in the main kept apart—one remaining basically Teutonic, the other Celtic. The former preceded the latter by at least a century so far as the ultimate perfection of development is in question, in spite of the peculiar view of M. Villemarqué who, in opposition to even his fellow Celts, would have the Breton Cycle existing as early as the seventh century; a view which, if sound, would rob the later French Trouvères of all claim to originality. Leaving aside then such controversies, we can regard as generally admitted: first, the existence of ancient poetry of Celtic origin containing in germ form the legends of the Breton Cycle; secondly, the fact that these legends and primitive poems are the common heritage of the British Celts of England, Wales and French Brittany; and lastly that they owe their preservation chiefly to the Breton harpers up to the Anglo-Norman writers in prose and verse.

Chiefly! because also to history is due in no little measure this preservation. Of that great struggle between Saxon and Celt in Britain, the accounts are meagre and obscure. The Saxon account is very brief. On the Celtic side we have but the confused and incomplete narrative of Gildas (about A.D. 550). Then silence until the appearance of the famous “*Historia Britonum*” of Nennius—about the close of the tenth century, a history wherein in the midst of confused Christian legends and ethnological fables appear certain evidences of British national poetry. There Arthur is mentioned for the first time, but not the legendary and imperial Arthur of the Round Table. He is not even a king, merely a military chieftain who vanquishes the Saxons in twelve battles. Then there is no mention of the Round Table, the Holy Grail, Tristan and Iseult. Merlin appears as the representative we may take it of

ancient Druidism, but even he is far from the mysterious Merlin of the later romances. After Nennius history is again silent until the advent of the Norman. And so it is to the popular poetry that we must turn—the poetry of the conquered race not unwelcome even to their Saxon masters. This preserves the rich material upon which was to work the genius of the Norman, that wonderful genius which created nothing but became everything and ruled everything.

With the advent then of this new race, Celtic poetry became the vogue in cultured lay society. Various causes contributed to this change of taste. The indirect and general cause was the increasing refinement of manners which had set in as early as 1108, immediately after and largely as the result of the first Crusade. The period before that was an heroic age, and heroism is largely coarse. The more cultivated society of the succeeding epoch, therefore, required literature somewhat more refined than the *chansons de geste*. A more direct cause was the development of French prose, above all of history. It was verily an age of history, when the false chronicle of Turpin rivals in interest the *chansons de geste*, when Suger reunites the ancient Latin texts of the early annals. Above all the Normans loved history—witness the galaxy of Anglo-Norman historians of the epoch, Orderic, Eadmer, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, Geoffrey of Monmouth, etc.

This is the turning-point in the development of the Breton literature, because this Norman passion for history so largely accounts for their interest in the unearthing of the historic past, not only Norman, but Celtic and Saxon as well. Added to this merely literary cause was a political and a racial one. To understand it we must remember the strong bond of race and intercommunication between the Celts of Britain and those of French Brittany. Add the close alliance of Brittany with Normandy, the significant fact that Bretons fought under William at Hastings, and the blood-relationship is established between the oppressed Celts and the Norman conquerors of their Saxon oppressors. Legend helped on the process. An ancient prophecy told of how Arthur was one day to return and conquer his ancient foes. Celtic imagination could therefore

well see it fulfilled by the victory at Hastings; and Norman sagacity could equally well see good politics in flattering this strange sentiment, in posing as the Arthurian avenger of the Celts, in unearthing their past, collecting, memorizing and modeling the Celtic legendary lore.

A last step in the process. The Normans were, of course, more French than English. Through them England for the first time becomes a factor in continental Europe. Therefore by their very position they were the logical link uniting the Celt with France and the rest of the medieval world. Moreover, too, their French language drew then into the French world of letters, which then as now gave the tone to all Europe. And so through the Normans the Celtic romances find their way into continental Europe, above all into France, where the Trouvères receive them, draw from them their inspiration and compose the "Breton Cycle" just at the lucky moment when medieval society was eager for a new literature to satisfy its more refined taste.

This is the story in a few words. The final process through which the "*matière de Bretagne*" passed ere it came forth completely polished from the pen of Chrétien de Troyes is well enough known to dispense with a lengthy notice. The predecessors of the Trouvères in this matter are known to all. Following the example of Geoffrey of Monmouth, others like Wace, Robert de Boron, Walter Map, and that later crowd of anonymous imitators and compilers in prose steadily developed, added to, recast the ancient material, and then handed it over to Chrétien de Troyes, who between 1170 and 1190 put into verse the prose romances of "*Perceval le Gallois*, *Le Chevalier au Lion*, *Erect and Enide*, *Cliges*, *Lancelot du Lacou*, *Le Chevalier de la Charrette*." Chiefly to him is due the introduction, the naturalization of Celtic lore in French literature. Above all he it is who, continuing the transformation of the national legend already initiated by Geoffrey of Monmouth, made these romances the mirror of society and chivalry in the thirteenth century to the detriment of the earlier pattern of the *chansons de geste*. As such he is the last in the long list of prose and poetic laborers beginning with Gildas and continuing with the anonymous popular *lais*, Nennius, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Wace, Robert de Boron and Walter Map.

So far most writers agree. But the study of the spirit and the ethnological elements composing these romances offers an ample opportunity for diversity of opinion. From the outset, therefore, it should be remembered that allowance must be made for much that is hypothetical and obscure, owing to the fact that all peoples, both Teuton and Celt, have many tendencies in common. The following conclusion, then, is offered as very largely tentative, though to the writer it seems rather secure.

Just as faith and war are the predominant elements or passions of the chansons de geste, so love is the main inspiration of the Round Table romances. It is only when the reader comes to study this statement in the details of its fullest meaning that he sees the difficulties in his path and realizes his dangers.

Faith, to begin with. In the earliest chansons de geste it is simple, undiluted Catholicism: in the Round Table romances it has degenerated into a mixture of Christianity, paganism and modern melancholy scepticism, despite the fact that Arthur in general is an enemy of the pagan. Angels give way to the fairies, giants and mythological beings of uncertain parentage: healthy faith to vague, morbid, introspective, though often delicious, musing. Allowing, of course, for the evil influence of the Oriental fabliaux or contes brought into Europe through the double pathway of Byzantium and the Strait of Gibraltar, also for the general decline of religious earnestness apparent even at the close of the twelfth century, the main racial cause is undoubtedly to be sought for in the peculiarities of the Celtic genius. In proof the reader can consult two works which illustrate the Celtic cast of mind at its earliest appearance: the "Mabinogion" and the "Épopée Celtique en Irlande" forming together the "Cours de Littérature Celtique" of D'Arbois de Jubainville and J. Loth. The Irish Epic is both the richest in manuscripts, the most ancient of Celtic literatures, and is descriptive of the Celt scarcely yet touched by Christian influence, despite the fact of its manuscripts having come to us through a Christian medium. Its oldest manuscripts date perhaps as far back as the seventh century. The collection of old Welsh texts known as the "Mabinogion" contain stories some

of which in spirit carry us back to the very beginnings of Celtic literature, such as those of "Pwyll," "Branwen," "Manawyddan," "Math." So then we are dealing with the Celt in his original simplicity. Now what is the characteristic of his religion as herein portrayed? It is precisely just what we find in the Round Table romans—their distant descendants. The Irish Epic, allowing for a Christian faint shading, is thoroughly mythological and charged with that love of the marvellous not altogether yet eradicated from the modern Irishman with his fairies and "good people." So too the Mabinogion are saturated with the same spirit. Giants, fairies, magicians, all the machinery of the Round Table, are there. So much for the love of the marvellous, of magic superadded to the simple Catholicism of the chansons de geste. But we are not so sure whence come the other traits of mysticism, of melancholy, of morbid introspection, unless we regard them partly as consequences of this love of the marvellous, of that world of vague adventure, of uncertain wandering, which reflects itself in the journeyings of the human mind through equally vague lands of doubt, partly also as the echoes of the eternal lament of the Celt over his misfortunes.

As faith, so also the second great passion of the chansons de geste changes in the Breton Cycle. True, the wars of Arthur are in a general sense national and consistent with a general aim; but even in the pages of Nennius they have already taken upon themselves that fragmentary, individualistic character which is at bottom adventure. Later on they have become nothing but adventures of single knights in defence of some princess held in bondage by a dragon or giant, or heaven knows what. War has become less real, often trivial, without even the epic grandeur of the feudal contests of Raoul de Cambrai. No longer huge masses, thousands of mail-clad warriors driving themselves like one mass of steel against the Saracen—pitiless and expecting no pity—all for one great glorious cause—the defence of religion and of France: only a plumed dandy, brave, it is true, but a dandy who goes off on silly adventures out of pure ennui.

Here the influence of the decline of the Crusading spirit is evident, as well as the general softening of manners which

must ever be well kept in mind. But here too, we again discover a strong Celtic influence. In the Irish Epic war is pretty much of this same character. Though more sanguinary and predominant as a general theme of the poetic "flés," nevertheless it bears that eternal fragmentary, individualistic character so typical of everything Celtic. The private wars of the Gauls mentioned by Cæsar find their counterpart in the internecine warfare described by the Cycle of Ulster, the Cycle of Leinster and the Mythological Cycle of the Irish Epic. Cuchulain, despite his paganism, would have found himself very much at home in Arthur's court. In the Mabinogion, even in the most ancient accounts, war occupies even less space and degenerates into downright military drivel, so to speak. We are *toto cælo* distant from Aliscans and Roncevaux.

We now come to the subject of love—a passion slightly influencing the early chansons de geste, which are fundamentally military and Catholic. Now it becomes the all-absorbing motif of the new romans. The causes of the change are not so easily distinguished, excluding such general causes as the so often mentioned softening of manners, contemporaneous with the appearance of the Breton romans, and the civilizing influence of Christianity. Perhaps the origin of gallantry will never be settled completely. However, personally speaking, we would allow much in favor of the influence of Celtic genius on the one hand, and of Provence on the other.

Even an ardent Celt like M. Villemarqué will not allow to the Celt the creation of this system of knightly courtesy known as chivalry; at most he will admit that Arthur was "le point de départ d' une chevalerie idéale, armée par la foi et l'amour."¹ Our own position would be that the foundation of this amorous chivalry was Celtic, but the subsequent fashioning of it was due to a Provençal impulse.

In proof take again the Celt at his earliest, so far as we know, as depicted in the Irish Epic. The position of woman as therein given was, I grant, shockingly low: marriage "annuel, par vente, par enlèvement"; the almost absolute power of man over the lives and virtue of his children and wife; the low price of women in the eyes of the law; lastly the prevalence

¹ "Les Romans de la Table Ronde," pp. 164, 165.

of what is known in Latin as "*Jus primæ noctis*," in French as "*Droit du Seigneur*"; the absolutely animal methods of extending hospitality to male guests, all tell a tale of revolting obscenity. The texts we could not quote even in a French translation. So also in the earlier *Mabinogion* the accounts reach a depth of immodesty that is even more shocking, and we mean from a purely pagan point of view.¹

Yet admitting all this coarseness of sexual intercourse, all this contempt for woman both in law, in language and in manner, nevertheless one fact stands out with striking force—namely, the prominent rôle of woman as a motif of the action of the poem and the narration. She occupies a place in the early *Mabinogion* almost as prominent as in the latter which are contemporaneous with the poems of Chrétien de Troyes; and even in the Irish Epic, woman and woman's love is far more of a motif than in the *chansons de geste*; in fact she then appears as the earliest manifestation of the gentle ladies who are to rule over Arthur's court in the subsequent romances: all that is required to make Guinevere out of Emer or Ethné Ingubé is a little Christianity, more refinement, and above all (pardon the expression) a short residence in Provence, this said despite the opinions of those who commence gallantry with Geoffrey of Monmouth.

The second powerful influence in the development of this amorous side of chivalry seems to us undoubtedly Provence—the land of love and sunshine, of amorous Troubadours and fair listening dames, of just that style of illicit love-making so characteristic of our *Launcelots*: of knights who cared little for war with the Saracen, who sang no *chansons de geste*, whose Catholicism was largely diluted with Manichæism—who loved above all another man's wife, rendered all the sweeter by the adventure and danger attending the pursuit. Here was the Round Table already formed in spirit. Now it is worthy of note that the best exponents of these Breton romances were precisely people who were Provençal by birth or dwelling or influence. The Normans were always by their possessions more in touch

¹ "*Cours de Littérature Celtique*," Vol. V, preface, *passim*; also pp. 29, 366, 367, 406, 451, 456, 486, 380-383. "*Mabinogion*," III, pp. 99, 95; above all the "*Story of Math*," pp. 145 sqq.

with southern than with northern France: above all was it the case since the day of Eleanor of Aquitaine, whose daughter was the French Sappho—Marie de Champagne, who herself had as chief poet Chrétien de Troyes. Surely it is hard not to see here a powerful and direct Provençal influence.

While we admit, then, that the Breton romans, in their original simplicity, did not bear that stamp of refined gallantry which they afterwards received from Geoffrey of Monmouth and the later poets, it would seem, nevertheless, that the prominence which the Celtic imagination, seen in its earliest beginnings, gave to woman and to the love of woman as a motif, as the great controlling passion (coarse and brutal though it was) indicates that the originals of the Breton Cycle did contain the germ of that same gallantry, thereby marking them off as so radically different from the cantilenes, the originals of the chansons de geste. This germ was developed under the softening influence of Christianity and still more so (too much so) by the softer, more refined and corrupting influence of Provençal civilization represented by Eleanor of Aquitaine, the Norman Trouvères, above all by Marie de France and Chrétien de Troyes.

So much for the general tone, spirit and soul of this cycle of romans. Correspondingly, the direct, simple, vigorous, but artless style of the chansons de geste gives place to a greater delicacy of expression, subtlety in the turning of words to express shades of meaning. The verse becomes more musical, the descriptions more diffuse and sentimental, the range of topics seemingly inexhaustible. Above all for the first time in medieval lay literature we meet with that analysis of sentiment so peculiarly modern. "C'est dans la description de ces lancements et de ces tendresses," says M. Aubertin, "dans l'analyse délicate du sentiment, dans cette éloquence diffuse, molle, subtile, mais pénétrante de la passion que les Trouvères du Cycle Breton ont excellé."¹ Yet they are not modern altogether. They have the faults common to most medieval productions—prolixity, monotony, endless detail.

Lest the present study should develop the same faults it brings itself to a close with this parting observation. The

¹ Aubertin, *ib.*, p. 339.

modern world knows full well and loves greatly the Arthurian romances told so sweetly by Alfred Tennyson. Perhaps it is yet too much under the spell of his magic verse to care for the ruder melody, too un-Catholic to feel the spirit of the chansons de geste, those pictures of chivalry in its primitive vigor. Be it so, though the thought is saddening. But at all events, let the world at least know of the existence of this earlier chivalry. Let it be told, even if somewhat rudely, that Tennyson and Walter Scott give but one view, that there is another of which they and their pigmy imitators never dreamed. We will then have the satisfaction of at least understanding better the Middle Ages, even though we are denied the pleasure of bringing the modern world around to our own opinions. Needless to state the preferences of this sketch. All the beauty and glamor and music of the Arthurian romances can not lessen our admiration for the sterner heroism of the chansons de geste. Launcelot is indeed a man "made to be loved," but as Mirabeau said of a political opponent, "there is no divinity in him." At all events he is not epic like William "au court nez" or Roland. Pleasant reading indeed are the Idylls of the King, but the pleasure leaves a stain. The "Chanson de Roland" may be less pleasant, but it leaves one ennobled. And so we repeat with Charlemagne weeping over the corpse of his slain nephew:

"Amis Rollanz, de tei ait Deus mercit,
Unques nul hom tel chevaler ne vit."

LUCIAN JOHNSTON.

BOOK REVIEWS.

The History of Mary I., Queen of England, as found in the Public Records, Dispatches of Ambassadors, in original Private Letters and other contemporary documents. By J. M. Stone. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1901. 8°, pp. 545.

The historian's reflections are anything but cheerful when he considers how often a one-sided and uncritical history moulds for centuries the thought of whole peoples. The famous "Book of Martyrs" published by John Foxe in 1563 is a classic instance. In spite of its mediocrity it attained a position amongst English peoples almost on a level with the Bible itself, by the side of which it was quite frequently placed, even in the parish churches, soon after its appearance. To it, more than any other book, is due that distorted idea of Mary Tudor, so wrongfully, but even yet persistently branded as "Bloody Mary." But it is a long lane that has no turn. And the long lane that leads from John Foxe to the present time has at last come to its turn in the book before us. The change towards a better understanding of that much-abused woman began to manifest itself some time before this, but the present work is, we might say, an epoch-making one. Hereafter, the enemies of Mary the First must at least be more cautious in their accusations, even if they be not more convinced that they have been all along bedevilled by John Foxe. The author certainly makes out a strong case for his client. Among the most striking points brought out are those relating to the question of tolerance, above all of Mary's tolerance, taking this word in no equivocal sense. That Mary burned heretics no one of course denies, but the points to be kept in mind, and well brought out by the author, are that the number has been outrageously exaggerated by Foxe and his imitators, that many of the executions were rather political than religious, that they were more the work of Mary's ministers than of herself, that punishment for heresy in those days was accepted by all, reformers as well as Catholics, as an incontrovertible principle of law. Regarding the political character of many of the executions, we are given the words of the Venetian ambassador (p. 354): "Certain knaves in this country endeavor daily to disturb the peace and quiet state of the kingdom, so as if possible to induce some novelty and insurrection," etc. These knaves are some of Foxe's martyrs.

On pages 357-359 we are supplied with some very salacious quo-

tations from the reformers advocating the very intolerance so censured in Mary. Such were Beza, Calvin, Knox, Cranmer himself, and others. We find (pp. 364-365) that Mary's personal views were opposed to persecution except where absolutely unavoidable, but they were overborne by the advice of her council, composed chiefly of laymen. "Although so many of them (her enemies) were by law condemned to death, yet had the executions depended solely upon her Majesty's will, not one of them, perhaps, would have been enforced; but deferring to her Council in everything, she in this matter likewise complied with the wishes of others, rather than with her own" (p. 319). And, more surprising still, her own tolerant views were shared by the supposed arch-persecutor, Philip II. of Spain. The bishops unwillingly acquiesced in the persecution; the Cardinal Legate opposed them; the King's confessor preached against them. So that the blame, such as it is, must be laid, not at Mary's door, but at that of Parliament and her ministers. Lastly, let it be borne in mind that even they, in punishing heresy with death, did no more than what had been done in previous reigns, and was to be done in the succeeding ones for over a century.

Coming to Mary's character, the author presents us with more surprises. Even Catholics have insensibly fallen into the way of disparaging poor Queen Mary, in so far as they have accepted as true the opinion that she was of a stern and gloomy temperament. The present sketch shows her as being of a naturally buoyant and cheerful disposition, ardently affectionate, loyal in her friendships, keenly sensitive to every act of fidelity. To the poor, for whom she is supposed to have been a tormenting inquisitor, she was ever kind, and by them ever beloved. "She visited them in their own homes . . . would sit down familiarly with them, and inquire into their manner of living, talking kindly to them while the poor man ate his supper, after his day's work in the fields, little thinking that he was confiding his troubles to the Queen" (p. 353). And if beauty be an index of anything good, Mary had that also, though the accompanying portraits most assuredly do not bear out her reputation on this point. Of her other virtues none dispute—her justice, charity, scrupulous honesty, untarnished purity. Her Court was as chaste as herself, a compliment we cannot pay to that of her much-lauded successor, Elizabeth, sometime "Virgin" Queen. The author, of course, does not pretend that she was a perfect character. Certainly in the matter of her forced confession of the invalidity of her parent's marriage (p. 127), she is excusable only on the rather weak plea of having been ill-advised. But allowing no great fault, even in that instance, her character seems to have been somehow lacking

in the rougher virtues that make a ruler successful. Her distinctively feminine virtues raise her to a level, infinitely above the coquettish, vulgar, jealous Elizabeth. As a ruler she was more just, more tolerant, more loving towards her people, less extravagant, more careful and attentive to business, far less autocratic, more respectful of the people's representatives. Withal, as a political genius, Elizabeth throws her in the shade. Perhaps Mary was too consistent, too honest, too truthful, to wend her way successfully through the maze of the English politics of her day. Elizabeth did so, largely because of her untruthfulness, tyranny and hopeless inconsistency, and thereby proved the more able ruler. It is a sad thought, but English history has proved almost to a truism that virtuous rulers are only too often unsuccessful rulers—witness Saint Edward, Henry III., Mary; compare them with such unscrupulous characters as William the Conqueror, Henry II., and Elizabeth. The reason we leave to others as well as this most interesting and able vindication of a much-maligned woman—Mary Tudor. After over three centuries of undeserved abuse it is a pleasant task to see laid upon her tomb this tribute of praise, with the regret that it should have come so late.

LUCIAN JOHNSTON.

The Life of Bartolomé De Las Casas and the First Leaves of American Ecclesiastical History. By Rev. L. A. Dutto. St. Louis: B. Herder, 1902. 8°, pp. 592.

This book deserves to be read and pondered on by every Catholic desirous of knowing under what auspices and with what intentions the Spanish colonization of the New World was carried on. The greed, violence, and inhuman cruelty of the "Conquistadori" are very well known, and all who share their faith must at the same time reject and disapprove their treatment of the natives, notably in Hayti and Cuba, and the islands generally. How many, on the other hand, know that a splendid resistance to the exterminating policy of the "Conquistadori" was inaugurated and carried on by Spanish Catholic priests, notably by Bartolomé de Las Casas (1474-1566)? This son of an original Spanish settler of Hispaniola, bred to the law at Salamanca, was the first priest ordained on American soil (1510). Almost from the first days of his priestly life he gave himself to the cause of the native Indian populations. Before he died he was hailed the world over as the "Protector of the Indians." In their interest he braved, again and again, the dangers of the Atlantic; he argued with all the authorities of Spain; he pleaded before kings and princes; he roused the pope himself. For fifty years he stood out against the fatal system of the "Repartimientos," and the result

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lies before us to-day in the large native Indian population of South America. There is no romance of history to compare with the life of Las Casas. And Father Dutto has told it as it was never before told in English. He has managed to compress into less than six hundred pages the main outlines of the first half century of the Catholic Church in America. That story centers about the person, the convictions, the labors, the plans, the writings of Las Casas. Catholicism, like all other noble institutions, is to be judged by its best specimens, not by its poorest; the former are its ideal products, the proofs and illustrations of its truth and its power; the latter represent the results of human interference with its elevated purposes. Our readers will doubtless be pleased to read a paragraph from the last will of Las Casas—it sums up in his own words the spirit of his life and labors.

"Inasmuch as the goodness and the mercy of God, whose unworthy minister I am, called me to be the protector of the inhabitants of the countries, which we call the Indies, who were once the lords of those lands and kingdoms; inasmuch as he called me to protect them against the unheard of persecutions and oppressions, of which they were made the victims by the Spaniards; inasmuch as he called me to protect them from the violent deaths which desolated, frequently under my eyes, and continue yet to desolate, thousands of leagues of territory; therefore I have labored in the court of the Kings of Castile, going and coming from the Indies to Castile, and from Castile to the Indies many times for about fifty years, that is, from the year 1514, for the love of God alone and through compassion, seeing those great multitudes of rational men perish, who originally were approachable, humble, meek and simple, and well fitted to receive the Catholic faith and to practice all manner of Christian virtues. As God is my witness that I never had earthly interest in view, I declare it to be my conviction and my faith (and I believe it to be in accordance with the faith of the Holy Roman Church, which is our rule and our guide), that, by all the thefts, all the deaths, and all the confiscations of estates and other uncalculable riches, by the dethroning of rulers with unspeakable cruelty; the perfect and the immaculate law of Jesus Christ, and the natural law itself have been broken, the name of Our Lord and his holy religion have been outraged, the spreading of the faith has been retarded, and irreparable harm done to those innocent people. Hence I believe that, unless it atones with much penance for those abominable and unspeakably wicked deeds, Spain will be visited by the wrath of God, because the whole nation has shared, more or less, in the bloody wealth that has been acquired by the slaughter and extermination of those people. But I fear it will repent too late, or never. For God punishes with blindness the sins sometimes of the lowly, but especially and more frequently of those who think themselves wise, and who presume to rule the world. We ourselves are eye-witnesses of this darkening of the understanding. It is now seventy years since we began to scandalize, to rob, and to murder those peoples; but, to this day, we have not yet come to realize that so many scandals, so much injustice, so many thefts, so many massacres, so much slavery, and the depopulation of so many provinces, which have disgraced our holy religion, are sins or injustices at all."

Fr. Dutto writes with justifiable enthusiasm, but the style of his narrative remains always simple, clear, and straightforward. The

diction is crisp and vigorous, and the figure of Las Casas is never clouded or reduced by needless disquisition or reasoning—the facts are permitted to exercise their own natural eloquence. For the first time many important historical documents are translated into English from the writings of Las Casas, a fact that will always lend the volume a special interest and utility. In the writer's opinion, it would have been better to collect all these documents at the end of the work, in a special appendix. Apropos, the last chapter is too long—it might well be made into two. The writings of Las Casas are described, it is true. Would it not have been better to devote a special chapter to the literary remains of the great Dominican? All the more, as so little that is definite is accessible to English readers. The various sources for the story of Las Casas original and secondary, direct and indirect, might well have been briefly described, in a separate chapter or excursus. There is no index to the book, a very grave defect in any writing of a historical character. It is a pity that Fr. Dutto did not prepare a bibliography of works that deal with the person and writings of Las Casas, also an account of the editions, whole or partial, of his writings, their vicissitudes, the uses made of them by later writers. Something, too, of the posthumous respect and veneration of Las Casas among his own people would have been welcome. Perhaps, if the history of the anti-slavery movement in Europe were to be traced to its origins, the figure of Las Casas would soon stand out among its first promoters. These remarks affect rather the external form and academic usefulness of the work, that really deserves to be raised to a standard publication, abundantly illustrated, and enriched with English translations of valuable Spanish and Latin documents. _____

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Le Ultime Vicende della Biblioteca e dell' Archivio di S. Colombano di Bobbio. By Achille Ratti. Milano: Hoepli, 1901. 8°, pp. 43.

No mediæval library has a more interesting history than that of the Old-Irish Abbey of Bobbio in Northern Italy. Since the year A. D. 1000 its treasures have been scattered through Europe, notably in the fifteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It remained for the armies of Bonaparte to commit a last depredation on the poor remnants that Rossetti could yet look on and utilize. Don Achille Ratti of Milan publishes in this brochure three documents from the episcopal archives of Bobbio. Two of them are inventories of the books existing in the library and archives when (1801-1803) they were dispersed and sold to the highest bidder. The third document is the act of sale of the books. Of the hundred and more "Codices" only

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a few ever reached the Library of Turin. Peyron had more than seventy-nine at one time in his hands. He says that between 1822 and 1824, some thirty were deposited in the same library. A certain "Citizen" Buthler (!) bought six hundred and sixteen of the books—perhaps he was some Irish Benedictine, some travelling English Catholic. In view of the high antiquity of many Bobbio manuscripts a great interest attaches to these "Codices" scattered by the Revolution. Do any libraries of Europe now possess whole or partial manuscripts of Bobbio outside of the Vatican, the Ambrosiana of Milan, and the Nazionale of Turin? And if so, how did they come by them? Is it true that in Europe very ancient Bobbio manuscripts are passing from one private collection to another? One such, at least, was sold not long ago for more than five hundred dollars (Ratti, p. 39).

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Vie de Saint Ouen, Evêque de Rouen (641-684), Etude d'Histoire Mérovingienne. By E. Vacandard. Paris: Lecoffre, 1902. 8°, pp. 394.

The distinguished historian of Saint Bernard presents in this life of Saint Ouen (Audoenus) of Rouen a bird's eye view of the history of the Christian Church among the Gallo-Franks of what became later the land of Normandy. The original materials are, of course, scarce. Few of the saintly figures of the seventh century stand out in the clear light that genuine lives, letters, documents and monuments alone furnish. The oldest Vita of the saint (Acta SS. Aug. IV, p. 805) was perhaps composed, in part at least, shortly after his death. Such as it is, it had probably taken on its present form early in the eighth century. Such a "Legenda" is usually retouched by the monastic brethren for public reading in their refectory; then the translation of the body and other events demand additions—the text gradually departs from its original purity, even when ignorant copyists or abbreviators do not alter the same. Under the Karlings, many an old Merovingian saint got a new "Vita" or "Legenda." The process may be read in Wattenbach, and now in the excellent treatise of Molinier. The "sermo inculcus" of the seventh and eighth centuries made the better educated monks blush for the memory of their founder or benefactor. So they rewrote the original simple-hearted stories that, naturally, no longer found copyists or readers. Two such lives of Audoenus have come down, dateable somewhere in the latter half of the ninth century. As to original writings of the Saint, there are a letter of his to Rodobert of Paris in which he offers him a "Vita" of Saint Eloi (Eligius) written by himself, and some monastic charters signed by him. Fortunately, the lives of

his contemporaries throw light upon his own. Thus the "Vitæ" of Saint Columbanus of Luxeuil, Saint Desiderius of Cahors, Saint Leger of Autun, Saint Bathildis, help to fill out the meager outlines of his story. The annals and chronicles of the time are still more meager—the continuator of Gregory of Tours known as Fredegarius, and the author of the "*Liber Historiæ Francorum*." The Canons of the Merovingian Councils, lately re-edited by Maassen (1893) in the "*Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*" (*Leges*, III, I) are a precious source of enlightenment as to the moral and social conditions of the period. Finally the histories of great mediæval abbeys, like Fontenelles, Jumièges, Corbie, Fécamp, that were founded in this century, furnish in their "vitæ" and "diplomata" many items for the life of such a man as Audoenus.

The Abbé Vacandard has rendered a real service to all who would like to know how the great nobles of the Franks accepted Catholicism; what was the life, literary, social, monastic, episcopal, of the seventh century; how the splendid abbeys and monasteries of mediæval France arose; what benefits they conferred in their infancy upon an ignorant and warlike race; what was the morality of the seventh century; what the struggle between the churchmen and the beloved "paganæ" of barbarism; how the rule of Saint Columbanus was first merged with and then lost in the more temperate and moderate rule of Saint Benedict, and many other instructive phases of ecclesiastico-civil life in that period. Indeed, the life of Audoenus belongs, in a way, to the church history of Ireland, for he received in his cradle the blessing of the great Irish monk Columbanus; his mother Aiga and his father Autharius, principal nobles among the Franks, had entertained in their villa of Ussy-Sur-Marne the founder of Luxeuil and Bobbio. He was then on his way to Switzerland and Northern Italy, but wherever he passed he left behind him some spark of that "strenuitas," that overflowing energy which Jonas (c. 61) tells about. This is not the only instance which shows how impossible it is, henceforth, to write the ecclesiastical history of the Franks and the Alemans without some account of the Christian priest who came out of Ireland to develop in them Christian character and idealism.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Mémoires de Philippe de Commines. Edited by B. De Mandrot. Vol. I (1464-1477). Paris: Picard (Collection de Textes, etc., fasc. 33), 1901. 8°, pp. 473.

This new edition of Commines offers the text of a hitherto unpublished manuscript written about 1530, and originally the property of the niece of Commines. Four other manuscripts of the sixteenth

century, and the best previous editions of the "Mémoires" (1524, 1528, 1552, 1747, 1840-47, and 1881) have contributed to establish a text that cannot now be far from the original autograph of the Sieur d'Argenton. A scholarly introduction, always a feature of these "Textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire" will appear in the second volume. In the meantime we recommend to teachers and students of history this excellent edition of a writer who is at once, in point of time, the last of the old chroniclers and the first of modern historians. The political soul of the "Quattrocento" as it existed in the feudal nobility of France is faithfully mirrored in the pages of Commynes. He is less picturesque and romantic than Froissart, less naïve than the sage Joinville, less gossipy than Villehardouin. In return he is a grave and thoughtful writer, a kind of Christian Thucydides, bent on finding and exposing the causes of political events. Diplomat, traveller, administrator, Commynes was one of the best informed men of the fifteenth century. It may have been well for French literature that his education was somewhat neglected by reason of poverty. Had he known Latin, his style would have been less idiomatic and original. As it was, he found himself compelled to draw on the native resources of the French tongue for countless shadings of thought and expression as he developed grave theses of morality and politics. He has been accused of being the teacher of Macchiavelli, whom indeed, he might have met in Italy in 1494. The accusation is not true; yet it is significant enough that it could have been made. Though Commynes "Mémoires" contain many noble considerations of a genuine Christian character, they also show that he could cover with specious names very wicked deeds and policies. The only excuse is that, owing to the endless shifting of interests and conditions, the educated classes of the time had come to believe that there was a public as distinct from a private morality, that each was based on peculiar and distinct principles, and that one could praise the "virtues" of Louis XI. while upholding a divine government of the world, providence, retribution, and the like. Commynes is excellent reading for all who are interested in the political origins of the great states of Europe, the beginnings of French literature, the processes by which the mediæval soul was modified and transformed into the soul of the modern man "toujours ondoyant et divers," itself the center of all things, their criterion and touchstone.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Les Sources de L'Histoire de France, I. Epoque primitive, Mérovingiens et Carolingiens. By Auguste Molinier. Paris: Picard, 1902. 8°, pp. viii + 288.

French professors and students of history have long wanted a work that should take the place of the incomparable "Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen" of Wattenbach (to 1250) and O. Lorenz (to 1500). They had, it is true, the "Histoire Littéraire" of the Benedictines, kept up by the Academy of Inscriptions, the useful Répertoire des sources historiques du Moyen Age" of the abbé Chevalier, the works of Ebert and Potthast—but for one reason or another, none of these quite served the daily needs of a French school of history, or the individual worker. M. Auguste Molinier, of the Ecole des Chartes, has conferred a great boon on all mediævalists who need to study the history of France, and what mediævalist can avoid it? In the first volume of a series that will eventually reach the year 1500, M. Molinier deals with the historical "sources" or original authorities for the period of the Merovingians (Merwings) and Carolingians (Karlings), *i. e.*, he reaches to about the year 1000.

A preliminary introduction presents the authorities for the history of Gaul before the Frankish invasion. Thereupon appear Gregory of Tours, the so-called Fredegarius and his continuators, the contemporary Italian, Byzantine, and Spanish annalists or chroniclers, the "Vitæ Sanctorum" of the sixth to the eighth centuries, treated topographically (a valuable chapter and admirably divided), then some "general chronicles" that follow more or less the imperial tradition. In the second part one may obtain correct, succinct, fresh knowledge about the writers who have illustrated, in prose and metre, the origins of the Karlings, their ancestry, their great chief, their family troubles. The story of the "Reichsannalen," one of the curious and brilliant historical discoveries of the nineteenth century, and of the great abbey-annals, is here—"quod requiritur et sufficit." The "Necrologia" of the Benedictines and the "Epistolæ" of the ninth century receive needed illustration, and the historians who tell of the Northmen invasions and of the ninth century as it wore away in France, are described. We often hear of Abbo and Aimoin, of Regino of Prüm and Liudprand of Cremona, of Widukind and Flodoard, Gerbert and Richer—perhaps, at a pinch, we might find some ancient and musty learning about them in an encyclopedia. But the latest and best is here, as in the sixth edition of Wattenbach. Only, the point of view in Molinier is particularly French, rather than German and imperial. The work is a boon—to have read and mastered it is a revelation of history and an education in the field of research. From knowing who and where are the sources of history,

it is but a step to make their acquaintance, than which there is no more genuine delight, no more useful propædæutic for the only apology that is lasting, because scientific, that based on facts.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Francois De Fénelon. By Viscount St. Cyres. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1901. 8°, pp. 311.

It is rarely that one runs across a book as valuable and as interesting as this. It is complete in every respect. The author has gone straight to his sources, studied them carefully, weighed the evidence judiciously, and then written in a style that is simply fascinating. Numerous portraits, a good chronological table of events, an excellent bibliography and index, clear print, light paper, attractive binding—everything is here to make the book attractive and useful, in general, the best life of Fénelon we know of, and one of the most absorbing books of any kind which we have read. The captious, of course, will find here and there a slip, but these cannot seriously injure the general character of thoroughness and brilliancy.

If we indulged in comparisons we would call best the chapters on "Jansenism," "Maxims of the Saints" and "At War with Bossuet," and of these the second is the most brilliant of all. Despite the fact that the writer handles there the deep and dry subjects of mysticism, his stylistic genius invests it with fascinating coloring. How fine is the passage which refers to St. John of the Cross (p. 103) that "tremendous countryman of Cortes (who) had voyaged through strange seas of thought to islands that mariner never saw!" How tersely put is that little defect in the make-up of the great Bossuet who "did not scruple to turn all the artillery of heaven against a fly" (p. 139). Just such striking passages are met with on almost every page, yet with all his "verve" the author keeps his head cool and gives a history as judicious as it is brilliant. He shows very plainly in the chapter on "Jansenism" that he is not a Catholic, but nowhere do his religious convictions seriously affect the impartiality of his judgments. After reading we feel that we know Fénelon and his age about as well as is possible. To completely understand Fénelon seems to be impossible, considering the enigmatic character of that great man who could be tolerant yet intolerant, courteous to all but friend of no man; an educational reformer without the courage of his convictions; a zealous pastor of his flock, yet ever somewhat disdainful of the common people and a lover of the classics; thoroughly conscientious, yet indirect; a fascinating conversationalist, but a poor orator; a mystic dwarfed into a haggling, microscopic director of pious souls; who was ever taken up with close introspec-

tion, but confessing that he never understood himself; possessed of brilliant talents, which somehow or other accomplished very little—a veritable sphinx. We do not understand him, but we thank the author of this book for giving us a first-rate portrait of the great archbishop of Cambrai.

LUCIAN JOHNSTON.

Dubois, Cardinal et Premier Ministre (1656-1723). By P. Bliard. Paris: Lethielleux, 1901. 8°, pp. 424, 488.

The figure of Cardinal Dubois will be forever an interesting, though never a sympathetic one. The tutor of the nephew of Louis XVI., that great nobleman, who held the Regency as Duke of Orléans (1715-1722) for Louis XV., and inaugurated, then and thereafter, the carnival of immorality and blasphemy that wound up in the French Revolution, has been made to bear no little of the odium that history rightly attaches to the Regency. Now, for the first time, Father Bliard, S.J., subjects the life of Dubois to a minute examination, the results of which are rather surprising. The work is based throughout on the correspondence of Dubois and other unedited contemporary materials in the Archives of the Ministry "*des Affaires Etrangères*," also on contemporary memoirs and authentic public documents of the time. That Dubois was a bold, pushing, ambitious man, is clear from this painstaking investigation; that he looked on ecclesiastical offices and dignities as mere stepping stones to political greatness, is also true; that he intrigued openly and shamelessly for the cardinal's hat as a confirmation of his career and a prop to his influence, is now proved in abundant and minute detail. On the other hand, he must be declared guiltless of the charge of treason and corruption so often urged against him—there is no proof of his having accepted a pension from the Court of St. James. If he yielded too often in the long and intricate negotiations with England, it was because he knew only too well the military and economic weakness of France that the next fifty years were to emphasize only too painfully. He has been atrociously calumniated, it seems, for it results from these studies that his ecclesiastical life was free from the gross immoralities that he has been charged with. He stood in the way of many men after the death of Louis XIV. The Jansenists loved him not. The ungrateful, arrogant, mendacious Saint-Simon has made himself the mouthpiece to posterity of all the contempt, jealousy and dislike of the "*Grands Seigneurs*" of France for the apothecary's son who seized on the rôles that should have been theirs. These volumes deserve an attentive reading. In their chapters stand out, illuminated by abundant documents, Orléans and Alberoni, Saint-Simon and Law, the hopes of the Stuarts and the fears of the House of Hanover,

the blind pride of the Spanish Bourbons, the waste and folly of the upper classes of France, the shrewd and calculating policy of England, all the lights and shadows of a period of history, when dynastic interests outweighed national ones, and the rights, comforts and happiness of the plain people of France well-nigh disappeared from view. It had not always been thus; were it not for the absolutism and the ruinous ambition of Louis XIV, a Dubois would have been impossible. The vast natural resources of France, the military genius of her children, her admirable position in the heart of Europe, the union and mutual respect of all classes, would have enabled her to withstand in the Old World and the New the rising fortunes of England and Prussia. But national prosperity that is based on continuous wrong and calculated injustice shall not long sustain itself. Is there in all history a stronger proof than the history of France since the death of Dubois?

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Les Mémoires de l'abbé Baston (1741-1825). Paris: Picard (Société de l'Histoire Contemporaine), 1897-1899. 3 vols., 8°, pp. xxix + 438, 423, 372.

In these "Mémoires" we have practically the autobiography of a French priest from 1741 to 1825, *i. e.*, the whole stirring period of the French Revolution, in its remote and near preparation as well as in its final outcome. The good abbé Guillaume Baston has left us in these pages a simple fresh and fascinating account of French life, social, political and ecclesiastical, as it appeared to a daily and capable observer of it in the eventful decades from Louis XV., to Louis XVIII. The greater part of the first volume is taken up with the description of ecclesiastical education as carried on in the Seminary of St. Sulpice, and the Sorbonne at Paris, in the days of the old régime. These chapters are an extremely interesting contribution to ecclesiastical pedagogics. Exiled from the diocese of Rouen, as the result of his refusal to accept the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, the abbé Baston became one of the heroic band of French émigré priests who disproved by their lives a multitude of false accusations against the old clergy of royal France. His experiences in England, Holland, Belgium and Westphalia, furnish the bulk of his diary. In the latter country he found an affectionate welcome. And he has well repaid the sturdy Catholic peasantry of Coesfeld by his kindly and shrewd description of their habits and customs, social and religious. Exile, poverty and sorrow did not make him a cynic, neither is he an absolute admirer of the conditions of French life before 1789. There is in most of his judgments a sturdy Norman good sense, a moderation and gentleness that shed honor upon the

men who trained him for the service of religion in its stormiest days. He returned to France, with joy, after the Concordat of 1801, and was honored with the office of Vicar-General in his native diocese. The violence and perfidy of Napoleon prepared, once more, evil days for the venerable ecclesiastic. Gallican in his views of Church government, he had a sincere admiration for the Emperor. Hence, when the latter thrust out from his see of Séez, very unjustly, (1813) Mgr. de Boiscollet, he named as successor the abbé Baston. In spite of the refusal of Pius VII., prisoner at Fontainebleau, to accord canonical institution to the Emperor's nominees, the abbé Baston accepted the dignity and took the oath at the hands of Marie Louise. It is well known how the imperial government tried to turn the Pope's obstinacy by causing the new bishops to be associated by their respective chapters with the existing vicars capitular. Though his position was false and irregular, the abbé Baston seems to have been in good faith. His one year of episcopal administration (April 30, 1813-June 11, 1814) was a painful period. At the age of seventy-three, this confessor of the faith retired to the peasant's cottage where he was born, disgraced and abandoned. However, the closing years of his life were made more agreeable by the restoration of his earlier dignity of vicar-general. He died March 26, 1825, at the patriarchal age of eighty-one. The abbé Baston is yet remembered for a refutation of the errors of Lamennais in his "*Essai sur l'indifférence en matière de religion*," a reply to the anti-Gallican views of De Maistre in his "*Du Pape*" and some canonical writings. He will live, however, more surely in the pages of these "*Mémoires*" certainly one of the most truthful and luminous pages that have been written on the French Revolution, and the most valuable issue of the series of contemporary sources published by the "*Société d'Histoire Contemporaine*." Apropos of the divorce of Josephine, there is (Vol. III, pp. 148-149) the statement of a French fugitive made to the abbé in Westphalia, to the effect that in 1796 he had been an eye-witness of the marriage of Josephine and Bonaparte, in a private chapel, by a non-juring priest. It is known that the Emperor always denied this, yet he might have easily acquiesced in such a demand on the part of Josephine. It is said that Danton himself, at the height of the Terror, was married by a non-juring priest (Belloc's Danton, p. 232).

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Les Etapes d'un Soldat de L'Empire: Souvenirs du Capitaine Desbœufs. Par Charles Desbœufs. Paris: Picard, 1901. 8°, pp. 224.

In this humble Odyssey of a soldier of the Empire (1800-1815) the reader obtains a glimpse of the superhuman courage and sacrifices of the brave men who filled the armies of France in the days of her supreme struggle to impose on the world of Europe the will of the Revolution. Alas, how soon the idealism of the Girondists was swept away and the stern cruel realism of Bonaparte was accepted as the proper philosophy of the new propaganda! Within ten years men had marched upwards to the horizon whence the "perfect state" was in sight, and had gone backwards to the political lust, ambition, and violence of Louis XIV. The great brain that planned was that of Napoleon, but the weapon was the French soldier, yesterday a peasant, to-morrow a legionary. These wars tore from the soil a discouraged and apathetic race, hurled it, rightly and wrongly, against one mighty coalition after another, filled with the wisdom of experience and travel the little farmer who had never gone beyond sight of the village church-steeple, and the small townsman whose ambition was satisfied with a trip to Paris and Versailles. In these wars France won a new glory, a new romance, a new outlook on all life—and the paladins of victory were Pierre and Jean and Louis of the fields, the hostler's son, the famished notary, the village inn-keeper. In this diary of Marc Desbœufs (1782-1859) son of a village physician of the Roussillon, the sufferings and the victories of the "Armée d'Italie" are told with vividness and clearness, also the campaigns that ended gloriously at Wagram and the not less trying but more inglorious campaigns against Spain. Here is all the injustice of Napoleon, but also all the romance of war. As one reads the tale told his grandchildren by this soldier of the Empire at the end of a long life, the songs of Béranger come back to memory, and the "petit caporal" takes on again the grandeur of Cæsar, and one understands why the soul of France instinctively yearns for another mighty man, another gigantic soul, to break the long reign of the trivial and the commonplace.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

The French Revolution and Religious Reform, an account of ecclesiastical legislation and its influence on affairs in France from 1789 to 1804. By William Milligan Sloane. New York: Scribner's, 1901. 8°, pp. xviii + 333.

The name of Professor Sloane is a guarantee that his account of the ecclesiastical legislation of the French Revolution will be notable for scientific form, conscientious efforts at accuracy, and breadth of

treatment—both as regards the use of original sources and the temper in which they are summarized and presented. His long service as a teacher of history and his "Life of Napoleon" have earned for him the respect of historical students at home and abroad. Therefore, one listens earnestly when he offers us his view of the causes that were responsible for the awful convulsions through which the French people of a century ago worked their way from a mixture of absolutism and feudalism to a *sui generis* democracy. In the preface (p. vii) to this book, the substance of which was delivered in eight lectures before the Union Theological Seminary of New York, Professor Sloane lays stress on the importance of ecclesiastical history for any philosophical account of the institutions and vicissitudes of Christian society. He believes that we should give due place to the Church as a social and political factor everywhere and at all times.

"The stubborn efforts," he says, "to explain mediævalism with little or no consideration for the unifying political influence of the Church are pitiful; the widely heralded discovery that the Thirty Years' War ended ecclesiastical politics is fantastic; the so-called secular history of the revolutionary epoch, relegating Church influences to a few paragraphs, utterly fails to satisfy the demand for logical sequence. When we consider the splendor of the Roman Church in its long intervals of sanity, the sound views it held of life, the brilliant leadership it exercised in philosophy, literature and art, the lofty aims it exhibited, the ameliorations of social life it secured, the constancy of its work, the continuity of its life, the comprehensive bond it was for all civilizing agencies—we can not wonder at the hold it kept on men's imaginations even during its lapses into worldiness." Similarly, he recognizes (p. xxiv) that "the single greatest fact of secular history was the emergence of Christianity from behind the veil of persecution, not as an adjunct of the Empire but as a distinct human power with a complete separate organization of its own." And (p. xxvi) we read that "in the necessary (mediæval) conflict between the social and ecclesiastical authorities as represented by the Church and the Empire the former was in the main victorious; in the scheme of public life it relegated military force to a level beneath that of moral power; it exalted the value of love, charity and holiness as the aims of private life.

With such views Professor Sloane is certainly not an unsympathetic observer of that decade which inaugurated the new life of human society. Why was it, now, that these ten years were marked by violence, savagery, sanguine injustice, and a general reign of unreason? Professor Sloan, admitting the fiscal bankruptcy, the survival of secular feudalism, the vague but sure upheaving force of universal mental exaltation, and the coöperation of all, is of opinion that the Revolution, at first wholesomely and normally French in precedent and tradition, was balked of its proper course by "ecclesiastical fanaticism, both positive and negative." It is the purpose of his book to bring out this fact as the mightiest obstructive force of

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the Revolution. In keeping with this assertion, the resistance of Catholicism to the so-called reforms of the ephemeral gatherings of French legislators is laid at the door of Jesuitry and Ultramontanism. This is certainly misleading, to say the least. The phase of modern Catholicism strictly known as Ultramontanism was almost non-existent in those days, or at least weak enough in France; and it is forcing even the most odious sense of the word Jesuitry to designate thereby the simple, brave, uncompromising and entire conduct of the great multitude of French ecclesiastics whose withdrawal from the public life of the nation, constant protest against the acts of the sectarian doctrinaires, and frequent sacrifice of life, show that they looked on the situation as involving the denial and ruin of all that was essential to Catholicism. The bone of contention, the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, was the work of infidels, embittered Jansenists, and even Protestants. Not the resistance of the Catholic clergy, but the cool malice of those who hated them, drove the Revolution into the heart of the storm and tempest, and made a reconciliation impossible until it withdrew its own insane act, or abdicated in favor of an emperor, after slaughtering a king. If we understand by "ecclesiastical fanaticism" the rabid unreason of the enemies of the Catholic religion, the words are correct. In all this decade the unity of Catholicism was at stake, no less than in the days of Luther. The last humiliation of national apostasy would have fallen upon the Church of France, were it not for the sublime courage of the clergy, both episcopal and presbyteral. Professor Sloane is correct enough in his general remarks about the frivolity and worldliness of a large percentage of the contemporary higher clergy of France, though generalizations are at all times subject to criticism. The volumes of Abbé Sicard on "The French Clergy before the Revolution" are worth careful perusal before the last word is pronounced on that peculiarly constituted hierarchy. So too, we would like to call the attention of our readers to the admirable work of De Tocqueville on "L'Ancien Régime." In the second chapter of the third book (pp. 219, 231, ed. of 1887) he has put his finger on the real and immediate cause of the French Revolution—the unchecked license of an impious literature, that roused only destructive forces—infidelity, hatred, contempt—and escaped restraint through the dissensions and factions of churchmen and the favor of an immoral court. These men of letters preached passionately political equality to a people long deprived of free institutions, unaccustomed to the handling of their own affairs, the victims of a royal centralization that had gradually made Paris more the mistress than the capital of France. The bookish abstract theories of these philosophers were suddenly and

violently put into execution by an undisciplined mob of men without experience or balance—village lawyers, rude peasants, scatter-brained demagogues, political mystics and dreamers. In a word the true cause of the astounding paroxysms of the French Revolution is the previous condition of the nation, social and industrial, as well as political and religious. Another and almost equally strong impelling force is the racial character of Frenchmen. I translate the following page. Though severe, it comes from the pen of one who knew his own people.

"The French Revolution," he says (op. cit., p. 310), will be forever shrouded in obscurity for those who look only at its immediate workings. In the preceding time alone can the proper light be found to illumine its course. Without a clear notion of that "*ancienne société*," its laws, its vices, its prejudices, its varied unhappiness, its grandeur, no one will ever understand what the French accomplished in the sixty years that followed its overthrow. Nor would the intelligence of these previous decades suffice without a profound study of the French character.

"When I reflect upon the character of that nation, I find it more extraordinary than any of the phases of its history. Was there ever a nation of such marked contrasts, so extreme in every action, guided more by feeling and less by principle, always better or worse than was expected, now above and again below the average human level; a people that varies so little in its chief instincts that its features are still recognizable in the portraits sketched some two thousand years ago, and yet so mobile in its daily thoughts and tastes that it ends by becoming an object of wonderment to itself, and is often no less surprised than are strangers at the contemplation of its own deeds. Left to itself, the French people is the most home- and routine-loving of all, yet when torn unwillingly from its hearth and usual habits, it is ready to range the whole world and to attempt any bold enterprise. It is a people of an indocile temperament, yet it more easily puts up with the arbitrary and even violent, domination of a prince than with a legal and free government by the principal citizens. To-day it is the sworn enemy of all obedience; to-morrow it puts on the livery of servitude with an eagerness that is unknown to those nations that are best fitted to bear its yoke. If no one offers resistance, this people is led by a thread; does a protest arise, it becomes at once ungovernable. Thus it deceives forever its masters, who either fear it too much or too little. It is never so freedom-loving that one need despair of enslaving it, never so enslaved that it can not break the fetters that hold it. This people has aptitudes for all things, but excels in war alone. The bold risk, the play of force, noise, brilliancy and success, are dearer to it than true glory. It is better fitted for acts of heroism than for works of virtue, for the deeds of genius than for a life of common sense, quicker to outline vast plans than to execute thoroughly great enterprises. It is at once the most brilliant and the most to be feared of the European peoples, in turn an object of admiration, hatred, pity and terror, but never to be looked on with indifference."

It might have been well to state (p. 88) that the condition of prisons and asylums throughout Europe previous to the French Revolution were not much better if any than in France. In rich and

liberal England the worst conditions prevailed, if we believe the poet Crabbe, when in "The Village" he describes for us the average "workhouse" wherein every form of misery and poverty was wretchedly housed.

It is not quite fair to refer (p. 41) to Cardinal de Rohan as a "typical ecclesiastic." If public opinion held him to be such, it was in spite of the fact that one hundred and twenty of the one hundred and thirty-seven bishops were good and capable men, that there were fifty thousand honest laborious priests, illustrious for the purity of their lives and their faithful performance of duty, that the parochial clergy exemplified the highest virtues of their class. These are the words of Professor Sloane (p. 42). Many of the scandal-giving benefited noble "abbés" were really vicious laymen, masquerading in the clerical wardrobe. They got these titles and revenues from other laymen in most cases, by a system that had grown up in spite of the Church and in defiance of her. As to the monasteries and their corruption, is it not true that many of the accusations come from their sworn enemies, who profited at once by their downfall, got their fine lands cheaply or for nothing, or needed a scapegoat for their own fanatical sectarian conduct? Even so it was once fashionable to denounce the English monasticism of Henry VIII's time. Yet writers like Brewer and Gasquet, the one Protestant and the other Catholic, have so well revealed the personal and interested animosity of their legal accusers that this mendacious thesis may be said to be demolished. With regard to the famous deception attempted by Napoleon on the occasion of signing the Concordat (p. 271) it is not without parallel in modern French civil diplomacy. Bernier, whose friends cast a doubt on the candor of Consalvi's conduct, was an obsequious, and, it is said, a treacherous agent of the First Consul (cf. the able articles of d'Haussonville, in the "Revue des Deux Mondes," 1865-1869). A similar act of violence and deception was the insistence of Napoleon on including ten constitutional bishops in the new hierarchy. The last chapter of Professor Sloane's book deals with the course of ecclesiastical legislation in France during the nineteenth century, and touches on questions of a mixed or ecclesiastico-civil nature. Naturally, the difference of standpoint affects his appreciations. It is very difficult to apply to the ecclesiastical conditions of France any of the simple criteria that work fairly well elsewhere. It is clear to-day that in some lines the Revolution was for France more a hurricane than a genuine transformation. It has left standing and vigorous many deep roots of ancient institutions, has spared many ancient forms and channels of thought that are and will be forever fruitful sources of conflict. A multitude of thinkers, both

within and without France, both friends and enemies, are of opinion that the disestablishment of Catholicism would be more likely to invigorate than to destroy these institutions and this temper. The student who reads the work of Professor Sloane would do well also to read Crétineau-Joly "L'Eglise Romaine en face de la Révolution" (1855) and the voluminous work of the Comte d'Haussonville, "L'Eglise Romaine et le Premier Empire"—also "Le Concordat" of the Duc de Broglie (1893) and the numerous articles on mooted revolutionary questions of a religious interest in the "Revue des Questions Historiques." Not the least valuable of sources for the real spirit and temper of the Revolution is the voluminous correspondence (1794-1815) of the man who summarized and organized its activities, Napoleon Bonaparte. As to the famous trial of Calas (p. 27) it may be well to recall the fact that the innocence of Calas *père* is by no means admitted by all historians (cf. "Le Correspondant," Vol. XXXV, pp. 690-721, and "Mensonges et Erreurs Historiques," 1886, pp. 1-72). It is of course a slip of the pen when (p. 41) Professor Sloane calls de Maistre an "ecclesiastic." Professor Sloane repeats with hesitation (p. 79) the story of the trampling of the "cocarde tricolore" by the Life Guards of Louis XVI. It has always been vigorously denied that the scene of the banquet in the theater at Versailles (October 1, 1789) took place as described by Lecointre and Gorsas. Aulard himself (in Lavis et Rambaud, "Hist. Générale," VII, p. 72) speaks only of "anti-revolutionary scenes." As a matter of fact, there are two schools of history when it is question of facts, as well as of principles in the French Revolution. There is perhaps, no field of history where the student needs to walk with more caution, for under thin disguises, that are not yet cast off, the whole movement partook of a religious character. This is, indeed, the thesis of Professor Sloane, and before him de Tocqueville had concluded that its external career, at least, bore all the earmarks of a religious revolution (op. cit., pp. 15-20). Fifty years ago Montalembert could speak of "les fils de Voltaire" and "les fils des croisés," and have his crisp formula adopted by both. As in some deep mine a half smothered conflagration burns on forever, so the fires of this religious feeling, whether of attack or defense, are yet burning brightly in France. It is in their lurid light that the origins of the stupendous conflict will long be studied, accepted, and narrated—I say stupendous, for, whatever be the degree of diminution of the political prestige of France, her long intellectual hegemony has not been broken, *pace* German erudition and philosophy. It is not in vain that France remains the social and civil link that binds the latest times and the newest states with the Roman Empire and the

political wisdom of antiquity; that she remains, too, the heiress of all Catholic ages. In other nations it is individuals and corporations who teach. France is essentially a teaching nation; only, *manet alta mente repostum* who shall be her mouthpiece in the end.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Cavour. By Franz Xaver Kraus, Mainz: Kirchheim, 1902. 8°, pp. 100.

The last lines from the indefatigable pen of Franz Xaver Kraus were devoted to a sketch of Cavour, the creator of Italian Unity. In bold but picturesque outline he relates the early career of Cavour, and the various phases of the political history of the Italian states previous to the tragic events that culminated in the overthrow of the temporal power of the popes. The sympathies of Dr. Kraus, always an ardent Ghibelline, are entirely on the side of Cavour, and against the defenders of the territorial independence of the Holy See. Yet he could not refrain from acknowledging the selfish views of the Piedmontese royalty, and the deception again and again practised on the Holy See in the course of the unification of Italy. Nor could he fail to record the disappointment of many hopes once cherished by the founders of the actual Italy. It was likewise plain to him that the Italian revolutions of the last century had always in them a large element of fierce sectarianism that is now manifesting itself in those dissolving forces of radicalism that threaten the happiness, if not the existence, of the Italian monarchy. Few men in Europe detested more thoroughly than Cavour and his biographer the social democracy that is to-day the ideal of so many Italians—yet Camillo Cavour was obliged one day to enter into relations with its first apostles, a symbol, perhaps, of the last phase of the monarchy of Savoy. Without the *piazza* it would never have unified Italy. It looks as if the hour were once more at hand when the *piazza* will again impose its fatal direction on the statesmen of Italy. The elegant brochure is one of a series of character-sketches published by Kirchheim (Mainz) and designed to place before educated readers the epoch-making figures of history. The writers are German Catholics of note. Besides the production of Dr. Kraus, there have already appeared "Saint Augustine and the Decay of the Antique Culture" by Dr. von Hertling; "The Great Elector and the Renaissance of Germany in the Seventeenth Century," by Dr. Martin Spahn; "King Azoka and the Culture of India when Buddhism flourished," by Dr. Edmund Hardy. These brochures are very elegant in form, and richly illustrated. Each writer is allowed the largest freedom compatible with a sense of Catholic duty. Clearness

of style, objective content, practical nature, distinctness of outline, are aimed at. It is hoped that the series will be of great utility to German Catholics as active members of the great modern state to which they belong.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Principles of Political Economy. By J. Sheild Nicholson. New York: Macmillan, 1901. 8°, pp. xi + 441.

This is the third and the concluding volume of Professor Nicholson's work on the principles of political economy, and it is fully up to the high standard set by the two earlier volumes. The author has aimed to do for economic science to-day what J. S. Mill did for it in his day—to give, from a positive view point, a comprehensive summary of economic principles in the light of all previous advances, and to provide an introduction to the deeper study of the economic side of social questions. The present work, however, is very far from being a mere compilation, for many of its chapters are distinct contributions to economic discussion. Throughout the whole work the treatment of topics is scientific in spirit and aim, but an effort has been made to avoid purely technical language, wherever this has been possible; and the successive chapters are marked by the literary touch and the brilliancy of exposition that characterize the other writings of Professor Nicholson. This is particularly true of the concluding chapter of this volume, in which are discussed "the relations of political economy to morality and Christianity." This discussion is marked by that deep and abiding recognition of the nature and the force of Christianity, and of its dominant rôle in the domain of social study, which one would naturally look for in a Scotch university professor. It also contains sympathetic appreciations of the Catholic viewpoint that betoken a judicial mind and the best instincts of unbiased scholarship.

CHARLES P. NEILL.

The Lyric and Dramatic Poems of John Milton. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Martin W. Sampson, Professor of English in the Indiana University. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1902.

In this compact little volume there is contained the necessary information for an intelligent study of the great poet. The introduction presents an appreciation of Milton's poetic quality, which the editor finds to be "eminently beautiful and eminently lofty." It summarizes the possible sources of "Comus," gives an instructive sketch of the development of the mask, and considers "Comus" as a mask. It contains also, a careful study of the dramatic structure of

"Samson Agonistes" in discussing which the editor paradoxically says that Milton has succeeded in imparting "a true dramatic movement by the very negation of positive action."

The notes are full, even to superfluity. Many words and allusions are explained which need only the most common works of reference for their interpretation. If the volume was intended for those just beginning the study of the author, and not supposed to have the materials at hand for individual research, the plan followed would be appropriate but for advanced students, who already know something of the methods of studying literature, there is much needless editing.

A very suggestive list of questions and comments on the poems, and a short article on Milton's metres, close what is undoubtedly an excellent introduction to the study of the poet, who, in English literature, by almost universal consent, ranks below no one save Shakespeare.

The thoroughness of Professor Sampson's work is shown by a very ingenious emendation of line 1218 of "Samson Agonistes," that reads in all editions:

"And had performed it if my known offence."

The editor would read:

"And had performed it if mine own offence,"—

a reading which renders the meaning of the line clear, and brings it into decided antithesis with the following line:

"Had not disabled me, not all your force."

As the editor remarks, Milton was blind when he composed the line, and the mistake could easily have been made by his amanuensis.

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

Lalor's Maples. By Katherine E. Conway. Second Edition. Boston: The Boston Publishing Company, 1901.

Miss Conway's new novel is an essay in legitimate realism. It is a much better book than its predecessor, "The Way of the World and Other Ways," which was mainly a study in morbid psychology, it is better because the author has forgotten her thesis against the world and its ways and permitted her natural and thoroughly wholesome delight in human nature to have play. One of the charms of this novel is its truth to conditions that are as a rule described with either supercilious or bitter satire. John Lalor and his wife are not only distinct personalities but types. Miss Conway is much to be envied for the discovery of a new atmosphere in American literature. Mildred is everything that a heroine ought to be, and we can really understand why Palmer Ellis fell in love with her, but not so easily why

she did not fall in love with him, as he is much more of a man than Raymond Fitzgerald, who is simply the "second juvenile lead" without any special character at all; but he answers very well the purpose of the author. Margaret Lalor is vital, and so tolerantly drawn—without the faintest hint that she points a moral—that one hopes the creator of the Lalors may yet give us a heroine who will not be a sweet girl graduate still in the clutches of the prefect of discipline. It is needless to say that this novel is irreproachable in manner and that it has the quality of interest. The melodramatic villainy and the unnecessary invention of Palmer Ellis's racial apostasy are the only artistic fault of the book. In "Lalor's Maples," even more than in any other of her works of fiction, Miss Conway has earned the right to be taken seriously as a writer of American novels. A mere *succés d'estime* is not the sort of success that ought to satisfy a writer of her talent, receptivity, and balance of mind.

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

La Chiesa. By Mons. Geremia Bonomelli, Milano: Cogliati, 1900. 8°, pp. 382.

The venerable bishop who has governed for thirty years the see of Cremona, and whose name is well known as that of a vigorous and earnest leader of men, gives to the world in these pages sixteen conferences that deal with the necessity and nature of the Church, her constitution, powers, teaching office, the obligation to belong to her, her means of preaching the faith, her right to existence and self-preservation. Particularly recommendable are the conferences on the Inquisition, the Church and Civil Society, the Church and Modern Liberty, the Fixity of Dogma and Scientific Progress, and Ecclesiastical Celibacy. This little volume is the third of a series entitled "Let us be reasonable" (*Seguiamo la Ragione*). One feels that the author of these eloquent discourses is a reasonable and reasoning man who has seized on the great facts of modern life. The illustrations are drawn frequently from the physical sciences; the right and due of progress are not denied or belittled; the expression of old and eternal truths is very modern, direct, and intelligible by the least cultivated minds. Incidentally no few theses of Church history are touched on, always with as much candor as learning. It is truly a father of his people who speaks in these homilies, for they have the simple, direct, evangelical content of homilies. It is necessary to read them through to understand how large and accurate a view of modern conditions is here presented, and how prudently the doctrine of the Church is preached with a view to the permanency of these conditions.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Der Totemismus Und Die Religion Israels, ein Beitrag zur Religionswissenschaft und zur Erklärung des alten Testaments. Von Fr. Zapletal, O.P. Freiburg (Schweiz): Kommissionsverlag der Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1901. 8°, pp. xiv, 176. (Fascicle II. of the new series of the *Collectanea Friburgensia*.) \$1.80.

This book is not, as a superficial reading of the title might suggest, an exposition of the religion of Israel in its relations to Totemism. The author denies altogether the existence of such a relation. His book is of an entirely apologetical character. It is the counterpart of the current Totemistic theories as expounded chiefly by the late W. Robertson Smith in his different publications, more particularly in his last two famous books.¹

After a careful, and as far as we can see, impartial examination of the various arguments on which the English scholar props his leading theories, Professor Zapletal comes to the conclusion that those arguments are anything but convincing. The animal names we find in the Old Testament are not numerous enough to justify their explanation from an ancient belief in kinship between men and animals. They occur far more frequently with peoples who certainly were never addicted to Totemic practices. The few instances of animal-worship related in the Bible are not conclusive, for not one of them refers to *living animals*, which is an essential point in Totemistic rituals. The dietary laws that make a distinction between clean and unclean animals can be explained far more satisfactorily from non-Totemistic reasons. As for sacrifices of animals, nothing in what Professor Robertson Smith has gathered with so much erudition goes to prove that their end was to preserve and strengthen the bonds of natural kinship between a Totem-god and his worshippers.

Altogether, Professor Zapletal's book is a useful and most needed contribution to Biblical Apologetics. The author is evidently well informed, having traveled through a portion of the Arabian lands, and made quite a number of interesting observations on the topics he deals with in his book. We strongly recommend all students in Biblical Archaeology to read carefully Professor Zapletal's work. We need not insist, however, that they should make a previous study of Professor Smith's "Lectures on the Religion of the Semites." This all-important work Professor Zapletal quotes from the German edition of Stube, 1899. We regret that he did not think fit to add the refer-

¹"Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia" (Cambridge, 1885) and "Lectures on Religion of the Semites" (Burnett Lectures, 1888-1889, 2d edition; revised throughout by the author, London, Black, 1894).

ences to the second English edition. This would have much increased the usefulness of his book in English and American circles.

H. HYVERNAT.

Timothy; Or Letters to a Young Theologian. By Dr. Franz Hettinger. Translated and Adapted by Rev. Victor Stepka. St. Louis, Mo.; B. Herder, 1902. Pp. ix + 155. \$1.50.

The presentation in an English dress of Hettinger's well-known work was certainly a laudable undertaking. The "Timotheus" ranks among the best modern books on ecclesiastical education and deserves an attentive perusal by every student and teacher of theology. Written by a man of culture and experience, it stimulates and directs the young seminarian, while it exhibits, in their true proportions, the various subjects comprised in the seminary course.

Such being the character of the German original, its treatment in this translation is regrettable. There is not a word of information concerning either the author or the book itself. The preface written by Hettinger and the other from the pen of Dr. Stamminger, who edited the work after Hettinger's death, are omitted along with the two indices that appear in the original. Six of the "Letters" are left out, though their subject, the earlier education of the theologian, is of the highest importance. The appendix on the "Kreuzweg" also disappears. Minor liberties taken with the references and notes may as well be passed over.

Presumably, there was some reason for these copious omissions; but it can only be surmised, as there is no translator's preface. The word "adapted" appears on the title-page; and adaptation is of course an excellent thing. But there must be something strange in the purpose or in the environment that requires such radical changes in a book intended for the edification of young ecclesiastics.

EDWARD A. PACE.

The Insect Book. A popular account of the Bees, Wasps, Ants, Grasshoppers, Flies and other North American Insects, exclusive of the Butterflies, Moths and Beetles, with full Life Histories, Fables and Biographies. By Leland O. Howard, Ph.D., Chief of the Division of Entomology, U. S. Department of Agriculture. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1901.

Dr. Howard is considered the foremost authority on the subject of this book, which is presented to the American public with the intention of making the inclination and taste of the amateur of nature the ways, to some degree, of scientific method. "The principal aim of

this book is to encourage the study of a rather neglected aspect of nature. The groups of insects which it considers are of very great extent. The wealth of material is so great that it has been only with the greatest difficulty that the book has been held within reasonable bounds. We have other books on insects, many of them much better from several points of view than this can hope to be, yet there has been a distinct object in writing this one, and if I had not thought that it was needed I should never have written it. One of the main desires in my mind in planning the method of treatment has been to encourage the study of life-histories of insects."

Dr. Howard's presentment of the life-histories of the insects which he makes interesting has a charm of personal expression, unusual in books of this sort. He is a master of the art of saying things accurately, and yet with a personal color. This is probably one of the reasons why "The Insect Book" has been so warmly received, even by persons who do not take the scientific point of view. There is a delicate humor in some of Dr. Howard's adjectives that add greatly to one's enjoyment of his terse sentences. Although this volume—which has 300 text cuts, 16 colored and 32 black and white pages, made from life—has been welcomed cordially abroad, the insects are all indigenous to the United States. It is too large, too comprehensive, too important to be called a "handbook," yet it has all the qualities that a well-written and accurately illustrated handbook ought to have. It is a dictionary of insect life in the United States, and one that cannot be superseded, though it may be supplemented.

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

The Theory of Prosperity. By Simon N. Patten. New York: Macmillan, 1902. Pp. ix+237.

Western Civilization. By Benjamin Kidd. New York: Macmillan, 1902. Pp. vi+523.

In the "Theory of Prosperity" Professor Patten takes issue with those who assume that social evils are purely economic in their origin, and that poverty and misery are synonymous. "It is a mistake to associate misery with production, and to assume that it is due to poverty. They are not the same, though both make men suffer. Poverty is a lack of resources, the result of definite economic causes; while misery is non-adjustment due to a lack of harmony between effort and result. The smallness of the result means poverty; the uncertainty of the result, or the failure to produce the desired result, is misery. . . . The breach is not between effort and return, but between the goods of which the return is made up and the mental states their use

is supposed to create. Effort produces goods, but goods do not create happiness. Men attain happiness, not by creating a great product of goods, but by reaching the goal for which they set out. The task involves the whole complex problem of adjustment, and not the simple one of production. Poverty has its causes in the present environment, while the general failure of men to get in touch with nature brings misery, whose causes go back hundreds of generations and affect every relation into which men enter." Starting from this analysis, Professor Patten maintains that the social problem presents two distinct aspects "which will not blend into any simple scheme"; neither will the evils that they respectively reveal yield to the same remedies. The social problem is then resolved into a question of income, presented under the two aspects of "income as determined by existing conditions," and "income as determined by heredity." The analysis of the first phase of the subject is styled "a study of effort and satisfactions," and that of the second, "a study of discontent and its remedy." The concluding chapter of the book is devoted to an interesting discussion of "economic rights." This bill of rights of a twentieth century economist is one of the most interesting features of the volume. The rights demanded are classified under three heads, and are as follows (1) Public or Market Rights: the right to an open market, the right to publicity, the right to security, the right to coöperate; (2) Social Rights: the right to a home, the right to develop, the right to wholesome standards, the right to homogeneity of population, the right to decision by public opinion; (3) Rights of Leisure; the right to comfort, the right to leisure, the right to recreation, the right to cleanliness, the right to scenery.

The "Theory of Prosperity" is interesting and suggestive—as is everything that comes from the pen of Professor Patten. There is an earnestness in it that compels attention, and a high-mindedness that must win admiration. But it is permeated with the philosophy of Utilitarianism, and sees in the whole struggle of life nothing more than an attempt to work out, according to a calculus of pleasures and pains, an ideal state of "adjustment" in which the pleasurable has no alloy of pain. One lays down the book with admiration for the author, but with a feeling of regret that he has not a nobler philosophy from which to draw his inspiration.

2. Mr. Kidd's work, "Western Civilization," presents, in many respects, an interesting contrast to the work of Professor Patten discussed above. The two books alike display minds of strong grasp and wide range. Yet in certain directions the mental horizon of each is closely shut in by their unreserved acceptance of theories which loom

to the eclipse of everything beyond. Mr. Kidd is no utilitarian, as Professor Patten is. The looming shadow on his horizon is Evolution. He regards Utilitarianism as an outworn creed—one which, indeed, in its day, did good service in unhorsing older errors and leading Western Liberalism to its earlier successes; but which, in its turn, has become *passé*, and which, from a stimulating force has degenerated into an obstacle to progress and an element of reaction. Mr. Kidd is the prophet of evolution; not the gospel of evolution as Darwin delivered it, and Spencer and Huxley preached it. Darwin, according to the view of Mr. Kidd, grasped a true and fundamental principle in his theory of "natural selection"; but failed to understand it in any but its rudimentary applications. He viewed the struggle for existence only as it affected the individuals for the time being engaged in it. The survival of the fittest meant, for him, the fittest for the then existing environment. Understanding the hypothesis of evolution only in the same rudimentary sense as did Darwin, Spencer and Huxley, and their school, missed its deeper content entirely, and in their application of the principle of evolution to the theory of social progress they traveled backward and taught the same conclusions as did the Utilitarianism of Mill and the Materialism of Marx. Their teachings were decked out in the phraseology of modern evolutionary science; but this only served to trick and to lead astray the masters themselves, as well as their disciples. Mr. Kidd bows to Weismann rather than to Darwin as his master, for it was Weismann who first grasped the deeper significance of the principle of natural selection. This deeper fact is that the interests which determine fates in the struggle for existence are the interests, not of the strugglers themselves, so much as those of the unborn future. The truer, the abiding significance of the term "fittest" has reference not so much to the environment in which these "fittest" themselves exist as to a future environment that they will never see. The operation of the principle of natural selection in social evolution is thus formulated by Mr. Kidd. "In the first epoch of social development the characteristic and ruling feature is the supremacy of the causes which are contributing to social efficiency by subordinating the individual merely to the existing political organization." This aspect of the struggle for survival of a type is the only aspect that Darwin saw. It was as deep as Huxley or Spencer sounded. But Mr. Kidd's second thesis is, "in the second epoch of the evolution of human society we begin to be concerned with the rise to ascendancy of the ruling causes which contribute to a higher type of social efficiency by subordinating society itself with all its interest in the present to its own future." This

aspect of evolution is one that was hidden from the earlier prophets of the gospel. It has been hinted at by Weismann, and by some others, but its clear appreciation and its formulation Mr. Kidd claims as his own contribution. It is in this second epoch of development that we live to-day. And to the failure of its leaders to grasp this all determining fact is due the stagnation that marks the course of Western Democracy. The principles which vitalized the first movement of Western Liberalism—principles dimly felt, and lacking clear formulation even in the minds most influenced by them—were idealistic and had their roots in religious sentiments. But in the course of that movement it has had foisted upon it the gospel of utilitarianism, and its creed has been given expression in the terms of a materialistic interpretation of history. The transcendent interests of the future have been subordinated to the selfish interests of the present by a shallow philosophy which contemplated only pleasures and pains, which placed interest above duty, and tried to express all the aspirations and the motives of human activity within the limits of an economic formula. The strength inherent in the idealism of the movement was sapped, the enthusiasm of its earlier stages deadened. The resulting spectacle that to-day presents itself "is that of the hosts of the great army of progress . . . standing grim, silent, scornful, before the professors who know only the materialistic interpretation of history. It is an army which moves not. Restive, sullen, majestic, it waits for the restatement of its faith in other terms." It is the basis for the restatement of faith that Mr. Kidd essays to supply in "Western Civilization."

We need not agree with the philosophy of Mr. Kidd, we may not accept all his statements, and we may differ from his conclusions; but we cannot fail to appreciate that the present work is one of strength and power. Even where we least agree with it, it opens up a field of thought rich in suggestiveness. As an evolutionist of the evolutionists, and as a writer jealous in the extreme of his role of "scientist," Mr. Kidd has pronounced bias against any religious or theological phraseology. We shall therefore find no such words as God, Providence, divine plan, moral ordering, etc., in his vocabulary; but none the less one cannot escape perceiving how "natural selection," in the theory of Mr. Kidd, stands out as something more than blind nature, or even nature following steadily her own automatic laws. From behind the "natural selection" described in "Western Civilization" there peers out constantly a necessary intelligence which knows the remotest future and unerringly orders all things towards a far-off event, which transcends both the interests and the intellects of the individuals of any

given present. Our author may use or decline to use words, at his pleasure; but between, or rather behind the lines of his book there are suggestions that must do much to strengthen the position of those who have held to the older faith. If "Western Civilization" shall prove the epoch-making book that some believe it to be, it will—however remote from its purpose, or even opposed to it this may be—strengthen the cause of religion. For it recalls us to the consideration of the spiritual factors of human life and development, and says emphatic No to those who attempt a purely materialistic interpretation of the history of the race, and who regard it a high triumph of "science" to compress all the activity, the aspiration, and the life of man within the narrow limits of an economic formula.

CHARLES P. NEILL.

Difesa Dei Primi Cristiani e Martiri di Roma di avere incendiata la Città. Rome: Federico Pustet, 1902. Pp. 249.

The persistency with which the Roman writers of the pre-Constantinian imperial times ignored Christianity has left us with scarcely anything pertaining to the history of the early Church emanating from pagan sources except a few scattered references in Tacitus, Pliny, Suetonius, and the writers of the Augustan history. The value of these passages, however, is in inverse ratio to their scantiness. To the famous passage in Tacitus (*Annals*, book xv, chap. 44) we are indebted if not for the fact, at least for what we know of the details of the Neronian persecution. Everyone is familiar with this chapter which relates Nero's attempt to divert from himself the anger of the populace for having set the city on fire, by throwing the blame on the Christians and putting numbers of them to death in his gardens on the Vatican. In recent years attempts have been made to exonerate Nero and to consign this page of history to the realm of forgery or fiction. In the year 1885 M. Hochart took the ground that this passage of Tacitus was an interpolation.¹ Internal evidence alone was sufficient to prove the absurdity of this contention.² Driven from his first position M. Hochart did not abandon his main thesis and in a subsequent work undertook to prove that all the historical writings of Tacitus were forgeries.³ His efforts in this direction were equally unavailing, and met with little sympathy and much opposition.

¹ "Étude au sujet de la persécution des Chrétiens sous Néron," Paris, Leroux, 1885.

² Vide Douais, "La persécution des Chrétiens de Rome en l'année 64." *Revue des Questions Historiques*, vol. XXXVII, 1885, p. 337.

³ "De l'authenticité des Annales et Histoires de Tacite," Paris, Thorin, 1890.

The discussion assumed a new and more acrid phase in 1899, occasioned by the extraordinary popularity of Sienkiewicz's "Quo Vadis." Moved by the novelist's description of Nero's duplicity and cruelty, Gaetano Nigri essayed the task of exonerating Nero from the charge of burning the city and from that of accusing the Christians.¹ Shortly after a pamphlet was published by Carlo Pascal, a professor at the Liceo Manzoni, in Milan, who, besides defending Nero, attempted to show that the real culprits were the Christians.² Since the appearance of Pascal's paper, a flood of literature pro and con has come forth in which many new aspects of the problem are discussed.³ It is needless to say that Pascal's theory was not allowed to go unchallenged. Among the more extended and successful refutations which have appeared are those of U. Benigni,⁴ and the author signing himself "Vindex," the title of whose work is given above.

In this book the author first makes good use of the fact that among the many charges laid at the door of the Christians by their pagan traducers during the first three centuries, there was never any accusation of complicity in the conflagration of Rome. From a close and detailed study of a passage in the "Natural History" of Pliny the Elder, he shows that in Nero's time the prevailing opinion was that the Emperor was the real culprit. In several well-digested chapters Tacitus' methods and reliability as a historian are set forth, followed by a clear textual commentary which brings to light, from a comparison with other texts, that Tacitus considered Nero to be the author of the fire. An interesting chapter drawn from the silence of Suetonius and Dio Cassius, who make no mention of the Christians and accuse Nero, adds considerable strength to the chain of refutation. From the letter of Pliny to Trajan and the Emperor's reply, it is clearly demonstrated that the official mind of Rome never regarded the Christians in the light of incendiaries. In chapters nine and ten the author gives some new arguments for the opinion that the Christians were not persecuted and punished under the general laws prohibitory of illegal associations and foreign religions, but in virtue of a special edict issued by Nero which made the profession of Christianity a capital offence. The remaining chapters are devoted to the consideration of some other accusations which Professor Pascal makes against the primitive Christians: viz., that the Church was composed of slaves and the lowest dregs of the people; that they were guilty of atrocious crimes; that

¹ "Nerone e Il Cristianesimo," *Rivista d'Italia*, nos. 8-9, 1899.

² "L'Incendio di Roma e I Primi Cristiani," Milan, 1900.

³ Vide *Nuovo Bullettino* for December, 1900.

⁴ "I Cristiani e l'Incendio di Roma," Pustet, Rome, 1900.

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the Church was split into factions; and that the Christians were always ripe for sedition. These with other statements incriminating the Christians and showing that the burning of Rome was in keeping with the belief in the millenium, and that the world was to be destroyed by fire, are disposed of summarily but in a thoroughly satisfactory manner.

In a work of such erudition, and one which will doubtless be the last word on the subject, it is to be regretted that the author did not see fit to give an extended bibliography, or at least to supply more copious references. Neither is there sufficient stress laid on the last sentence in Tacitus' description in which he speaks of the revulsion of popular sentiment in favor of the Christians, impossible if they had confessed themselves guilty, or if only a few had suffered the death penalty. The author's clear and accurate grasp of the subject, his thorough equipment, and the cogency and order of his arguments have, it may be assumed, disposed of Pascal's theory as thoroughly as other critics disposed of M. Hoechart.

PATRICK T. HEALY.

The Italian Renaissance in England. Studies. By Lewis Einstein. New York: The Columbia University Press (Macmillan), 1902. 8°.

Mr. Einstein's book is a very valuable contribution to the study of comparative literature. It is a serious effort to find the common impulse running through the Italian influences in England. The existence of this influence in English poetry is so evident that it is taken for granted. From Chaucer to Browning, it permeates and moulds the thought and form of English verse; but the movement in Europe and in the life of England which made this influence possible and enabled the English people to appreciate it has not been fully discussed. Mr. Einstein's chapter on "Italian Influence in English Poetry" is very carefully conceived and admirably written. While it is true that Wyatt preceded Surrey, it is too much to say that Wyatt was the father of modern English poetry. Mr. Einstein calls Chaucer "the father of English poetry," modifying the phrase with "modern" when he comes to Wyatt. The debt of English poetry to Wyatt and Surrey is great; but that they exceeded Chaucer in the musical poetic form or were more seminal is at least doubtful. Chaucer's form is so influenced by Italian influence that it requires no training in Chaucer's metrical art to enable any Italian or Spaniard, with a fair knowledge of English pronunciation, to fall into the verse

swing at once. In fact, he more easily acquires it than the native-born Englishman or American. The Italian influence of Dante and Petrarch is as plain in Chaucer's poems as that of Ariosto is in Spenser's. This influence culminates in Browning's work where all Italy gleams and flames.

Mr. Einstein's analysis of the condition of learning at the court of Henry VIII is suggestive and illuminating. He accentuates the influence of such men as More, Erasmus, and the coteries about them, Ammonio, Silvestro Gigli, Adrian de Castello, who knew More and probably Wyatt. The literature fostered by those men was not of the people; it was as exclusive as that of the Hotel de Rambouillet. The Italian Renaissance appealed to the sense of form, which the English poets had rather lost sight of since Chaucer's time. Wyatt and Surrey concentrated the Italian influence, making way for the splendors of Dryden and the decadence of form through excess of polish in Pope. It is only necessary to go back to and compare the crudity of Laurence Mivot and the Scotch group of poets with the musical flow of Chaucer to realize what English poetry would have been had Dante and Petrarch been unknown to Chaucer. The influence of Italy on Court politics in the sixteenth century and on the social life of the young men who had gone abroad for culture was not good. The Englishman in Italy as a traveler took too readily to those indulgences, intellectual and sensual, to which the paganized Italians were given. Unbelief—encouraged by the advanced among the Reformers under the guise of free thought—found itself expressed in exquisite forms. The "Italianate English" became a phrase of reproach well deserved. It was not of papistical leanings he was accused, but of atheism and effeminacy. Mr. Einstein's study of the English point of view of this class is excellent. The last chapter on "English Catholics in Rome," in which slight allusions are made to Campion and Southwell, more space being given to Parsons, is interesting, as much for the references Mr. Einstein gives as for the facts. The Italian influence on "Venus and Adonis" might have been traced to different conclusions in Southwell's "Burning Babe." It is a great pleasure to recommend this sincere, careful, if somewhat limited, series of studies.

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

La Question Biblique chez les Catholiques de la France au XIXième Siècle. By Albert Houtin. Paris: Picard, 1902. 8°, pp. 324.

M. Houtin excels as a "rapporteur" of certain large historical problems. After his account of the controversies aroused by the question of the apostolic origin of several churches of France, we have now

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from his pen a very interesting exposé of the course and the details of Biblical Apologetics in France. The book helps us to grasp more clearly the movement of illustration and defence of the Bible as understood by French Catholics, some of whom have been conservative in the extreme, while others have leaned in the other direction. It is valuable especially as a résumé of the domestic controversies that have arisen within the last decade about the writings and the person of the abbé Loisy, one of the most learned and acute of modern Christian biblical scholars. The work is well worth careful study on the part of every ecclesiastic who would keep abreast of the latest phases of the relations between the Bible and the sciences of modern times.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

L'Abbaye de Moyenmoutier de l'ordre de Saint Benoit, en Lorraine. Etudes d'Histoire Bénédictine. Par L. Jérôme. I. L'Abbaye au Moyen Age. Paris: Lecoffre, 1902. 8°, pp. 592.

The history of its great abbeys is largely the history of France from the sixth to the sixteenth century. This is particularly true of the popular, social and intellectual life. One of the most illustrious and deserving of these religious homes was the famous monastery of Moyenmoutier (Medianum Monasterium), situated where the foothills of the Vosges rise from the fertile plains of Lorraine, in the present canton of Sentones and arrondissement of Saint Dié. In the world of ecclesiastical letters it is forever famous for having sheltered men like Dom Calmet and Dom Ceillier, who gave so great an impetus to theological learning in the eighteenth century, and for its share in the intellectual and religious reform that endowed France with the works of the Benedictines of Saint Maur. M. Jérôme has undertaken to recast and complete the eighteenth century Latin story of the abbey as told by its learned abbot Dom Belhomme. It is no small praise that the first volume of his work has won the official approbation of a territory that has always been rich in local historians and antiquarians. In these pages we are first introduced to the original sources for the history of Moyenmoutier. It is the old story—rarity and weakness of the documents that deal with the foundation-period, abundance and indecision in those that fall well within the historical period. M. Jérôme dissects with critical skill the oldest lives of St. Hidulph and St. Dié (Deodatus), reputed founders of Moyenmoutier. For Hidulph he inclines to accept the end of the seventh century, rather than the traditional epoch of a century later. Local pride in the house of Charlemagne acted as the confusing element at a period when the great emperor's personality was entering upon its

romantic transfiguration. Similarly, the oldest authorities for the life of the monastery are enumerated and judged according to the periods they deal with. Only then does the author take up the biography of the abbots from Hidulph to the sixteenth century. It is a fascinating tale that some day can be worked over in a popular form. There are the usual elements of foundation; the rich nobleman and ecclesiastic weary of the world, the flight into solitude, the following of friends and admirers, the huts and little chapel in the clearing made by their hands, the astonishing virtues and labors of the first monks, the rapid endowment of their corporation by the rich and powerful. Emperor, duke, and bishop appear alternately upon the scene, first as friends and later as adversaries or accusers. It is precisely in the first thousand years of the life of Moyenmoutier that the kingdom of France worked out its salvation. Here you may see how the men of France learned to admire their priesthood, how the countless hamlets of Lorraine and Alsace arose around the lonely forest cells of monks and hermits, how law and procedure actually developed, how the internal conflicts of feudalism now furthered, now arrested ecclesiastical life. Fervor and apathy, energy and indolence, zeal and coldness, have each their pages. The history of ecclesiastical property in the middle ages, how acquired, how administered, how divided, how wasted, how held by conflicting titles, how given through love and alienated through rapacity, negligence or avarice, is all here, and a wonderful story it is. Moyenmoutier had its mediæval glories; St. Leo IX (Bruno of Toul) was its neighbor and friend; through him Humbert, a monk of the monastery, was given high office in the negotiations with Constantinople. He is famous as Cardinal Legate of this great German pope (1049-1054). To-day its ancient buildings are the home of a flourishing industry, but no toil can surpass that of the good men who built up Christian character in an age of ignorance and disorder. Moyenmoutier went down in the storm of the French Revolution, despite the fact that it had never been more a home of piety, learning, beneficence than in the last two centuries of its existence. The work is enriched by an account of the numerous manuscript sources and by an extensive bibliography, the mere perusal of which shows us to what degree Lorraine enters into the mediæval life, ecclesiastical and civil. We shall await with impatience the second volume of this work, that promises a literary interest second to none of the excellent books that have lately appeared within this province of ecclesiastical history.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

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Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Propædeutica, Introductio ad historiæ ecclesiasticæ scientiam. By Humbertus Benigni. Rome: Pustet, 1902. 8°, pp. 129.

We can recommend this booklet to students and teachers of history. Its doctrine is sound as far as it deals with the nature, principles and method of criticism in the pursuit of historical research. The greater part of the work is devoted to considerations of a philosophical character. The reader can only be edified, and will often be agreeably instructed, by the large and vigorous concepts that, unfortunately, are often set forth in too terse a style. Had the author cast his views into his native Italian, the work would have gained not only in literary grace, but more especially in that favor which the modern mind more than ever bestows on writings that pay homage to those vernaculars which are its own peculiar and beloved work. As a proof of this we may refer to the increasing popular interest in the writings of Father Semeria.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Relation de Terre Sainte (1533-1534). Par Greffin Affagart; publiée avec une introduction et des notes par J. Chavanon. Paris: Lecoffre, 1902. 8°, pp. xxvii + 245.

The lover of curious books of travel will read with great pleasure this account of travels in the Holy Land by a French nobleman of the sixteenth century. It is replete with curious personal details. His notions of geography and history are often enough hazy, and his critical temper not much beyond the average of his time, yet he was a shrewd and close observer. Palestine of the sixteenth century stares at us from his pages with all the difficulties of travel, extortions of Greeks and Turks, obstacles of every kind. It was to rouse the decaying love of the Holy Land that this descendant of a Crusading family wrote these pages which even at that date take on the form of a modern guide. Very quaint and melancholic are the lines (p. 20) in which he laments the decline of the mediæval fondness for the holy places: "depuys que ce meschant paillard Luther a régné avec ses complices et aussi Erasme lequel, en ses Colocques et Enchiridion, a blasmé les voyages," etc.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Saint Hilaire (310-(20)-368). Par le R. P. Largent, de l'Oratoire Paris: Lecoffre, 1902. (Les Saints.) 8°, pp. 184.

Saint Boniface (680-755). Par G. Kurth. Paris: Lecoffre, 1902. 8°, pp. 200.

Saint Gaëtan (1480-1547). Par R. de Maulde La Clavière. Paris: Lecoivre, 1902. 8°, pp. 201.

1. Father Largent's life of the first great Western doctor of the faith, Saint Hilary of Poitiers, though necessarily very brief, gives an excellent popular account of the career and works of one of the most remarkable churchmen that the wonderful fourth century furnished. He has woven into the text of his narration several brilliant literary and dogmatic appreciations by Dom Ceillier, Cardinal Pie, Villemain, the Due de Broglie. Similarly the writings of Ebert, Richard Simon, and Bardenhewer, have been drawn on, not to speak of the inexhaustible mine that Tillemont offers forever to the seeker after the truth of ecclesiastical history. Perhaps the exposition is a little seamy and uneven—it is no easy task to write a biography and renounce the usual aids of historical background and digression. Following in the wake of Cazenove (London, 1883), Barbier (Paris, 1887) and Dom Chamard's Saint Martin (Paris, 1873) this life of Saint Hilary cannot fail to arouse fresh interest in the immortal story of the conflict for the divinity of Jesus Christ.

2. The indefatigable pen of M. Godefroid Kurth loves to delineate those chapters of the history of the Church whose materials are found in the three long centuries that follow the overthrow of the Roman authority in the West. After Clovis and Clotilde, after his lengthy but admirable "*Origines de la Civilisation Moderne*" (Paris, 4th ed., 1898) he presents us with a life of Saint Boniface in which the surest erudition is allied to elevation of thought and dignity of style. There are in this little work twelve pages (183-195) of a critical bibliography that lend it a special value for the student of the beginnings of the Church in Germany. M. Kurth is a poet and a romantic soul among historians, hence many pages of this volume reveal certain rare literary qualities—inspired, no doubt, by the fact that the author chose to produce the work at Fulda within the shadow of the great monuments that yet recall the memorable career of the Apostle of Germany.

3. It would not be easy to find a more competent hand than that of M. de Maulde La Clavière, to which might be entrusted the story of the life of Saint Cajetan. This author, only lately known among us through the English translation of his learned work on the Women of the Renaissance, is in reality a profound student of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and distinguished in France for a long series of erudite volumes that deal with events and persons of that period. Saint Cajetan is a great central figure in the movement of the Counter-Reformation. In him and about him gather most of the influences, traditions, tendencies, aspirations that made it morally impossible for

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the crude Protestantism of the sixteenth century to succeed in Italy. Every page of this portrait is worth careful reading, from the brief but weighty preface to the last chapter in which the unbroken influence of the Apostle of "Divino Amore" is sketched for us, also the serious tragedy of the stern, even fierce reaction that marked at Rome the declining years of the founder of the Theatines.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Monuments of the Early Church. A Handbook of Christian Archaeology. By Walter Lowrie, M.A. New York: Macmillan, 1901. 8°, pp. xxii + 432.

We have long wanted in English a reliable handbook for the study of the monuments of the Early Church, particularly those that have been made known in the nineteenth century, or were then for the first time properly illustrated. Mr. Lowrie, a Fellow of the American School of Classical Studies at Rome, has produced such a book. It deals with the Catacombs or early Christian burial-places, the architecture of the primitive Christians, their uses of the fine arts—painting, sculpture, mosaic, and what we yet conventionally call the minor arts because their materials are slight in size, or fragile and perishable, such as glass and textile stuffs. A chapter on civil and ecclesiastical dress in Christian antiquity completes the book and makes of it a useful and in general trustworthy guide. The doctrine is very often borrowed from the most authoritative of the Catholic archaeologists of Rome, naturally because they have been the foremost and the most scientific workers in this field. But it is always well-grasped and attractively presented, *e. g.* (p. 229), the account of the well-known "Fractio Panis" discovered by Wilpert. The writings of the latter distinguished student are frequently referred to, notably in the chapter on ecclesiastical dress that we commend to all our readers. A sufficient and luminous introduction and a very good bibliography add to the merits of the volume. Though written by a non-Catholic, its tone is habitually reverent and earnest. The book would furnish excellent side-reading for young theologians in the first year of their studies and delightful instruction to those who have grown old in the service of the ministry. There are only wanting two chapters—one on Christian Inscriptions and another on the Acts of the Martyrs—to make this work a good companion-volume to the best manuals of Early Church History. Both might be worked into the volume without doing violence to its original scope. In a brief notice of so useful a work there is scarcely need to call attention to minor details that perhaps justify some measure of criticism. Would that its content were

assimilated by every young student of the history and the theology of the Church!

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

A Student's History of Philosophy. By Rogers. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1901. Pp. xi+519. \$2.00.

This volume is intended for use in the college course. It covers the whole ground of the history of philosophy and follows the chronological order. As stated in the preface, its purpose is rather "to create certain broad general impressions, leaving further details to come from other sources." The author, in fact, is fully aware of the difficulties that beset such an undertaking; but by keeping the need of the student in view he has succeeded in giving us more than a mere outline or synopsis.

The teacher, however, who adopts this book for his class-room work, will have occasion to note and possibly to correct some shortcomings. The account, for instance, of the mediæval period is compressed into sixteen pages, though the author admits that it is "intrinsically of great importance." Surely, the sense of proportion is one of the results that an introductory history of philosophy should aim at. Another point, of minor importance, perhaps, is the unsatisfactory presentation of the literature. It was an excellent idea to close each section of the book with a list of references; but it is doubtful whether the lists as given will encourage the student to extend his reading. At any rate, he should not regard them as models in the simple but neglected art of bibliography.

EDWARD A. PACE.

The Teaching of Mathematics in Prussia. By J. W. A. Young. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900. 16°, pp. xxi+141.

Theory of Optics. By Paul Drude. Translated from the German by C. Riborg Mann and Robert A. Millikan. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902. 8°, pp. xxi+546. Illustrated.

Alternating Current Machines. By Samuel Sheldon and Hobart Mason. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1902. 8°, pp. iv+259. Illustrated.

The Common Sense of Commercial Arithmetic. By George Hall. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1901. 16°, pp. vi+187.

1. The author spent nearly a year in an examination of the Prussian High School System, personally visiting the institutions, and gaining the information for his book, partly from the directors and

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The book contains a general sketch of the Prussian High School System, with a more detailed description of the work in mathematics. The author shows that the successful outcome of the study by the Prussians of educational problems is evinced by a satisfactorily working High School System. The teaching of mathematics is the fruit of long labors by a people which stands to-day in the forefront of educational progress, and it is the spirit of the teaching of mathematics that dominates the system.

The writer has carefully substantiated his statements by facts and figures, and has excluded mere personal opinions or impressions. The work that he undertook has been done excellently. The skill of the printers has not been taxed very severely to make the book attractive.

2. Dr. Drude is preëminently qualified for writing on the subject of optics. For more than fifteen years he has devoted himself to the experimental and mathematical study of the most difficult problems in light, namely, those concerning the behavior of light at the surface of media, in absorbing media and in crystals. The results of his experimental researches are of very great importance. With them he has given the theory of light a development such as few physicists before him have been able to bring about.

No ordinary compilation, as are most of the works on optics that appear in these days, could come from the pen of Dr. Drude. Old matter is given interest and freshness through its treatment from the point of view of one who has been a discoverer of important facts, and a maker of consistent theories. New matter, much of which appears for the first time in a general treatise, both that resulting from Dr. Drude's own researches and that from other recent investigators, is presented clearly.

The translation seems to be a faithful rendering into elegant English of matter which, while clear enough in the original German, is very difficult to translate, especially because of the lack of English words, or even phrases, that exactly represent the ideas. The translators have done a service to those who might care to use Dr. Drude's treatise, but who have no acquaintance with the German.

3. This book, which is a companion to the volume on Direct Current Machines by the same authors contains, in a simple form, much of the matter concerning alternating currents taught at technical schools in this country. The illustrations are good, and the book is well printed. The mathematical treatment is too brief in most cases. Those using it would need extensive supplemental reading from such authors as Bedell and Crehore, Steinmetz, etc.

4. The book treats in a simple way of percentages, insurance, discount, commission, stocks and bonds, banks and banking and exchange. The practical side of those subjects is more definitely presented here than in the usual text-book, and the problems are more interesting than is generally the case, being chosen, apparently, from actual business transactions.

DANIEL W. SHEA.

Sacerdos rite institutus piis exercitationibus menstruæ recollectionis. Auctore P. Adulpho Petit, S.J. Bruges: Desclée, De Brouwer et Cie. Series I-V, 1898-1899. 8°, pp. 340, 456, 268, 372, 378.

These five little volumes form an admirable compendium of the sacerdotal life from the point of view of spiritual perfection. The Meditations, Contemplations and Considerations are based on the gospel story and on the great lines of Catholic theology. Many a clergyman prevented from making an annual retreat, or engaged himself in conducting such a holy work, will find these pages of Fr. Petit a great help and consolation. The work deserves a place in the ascetical library of every priest.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Passion. Historical Essay. By R. P. M. J. Ollivier, O.P.; translated from the French by E. Leahy. Boston: Marlier & Co., 1901. 8°, pp. 439.

The studies which this volume contains were first utilized as sermons and delivered at the church of St. Roch in Paris, during the Lenten season of 1887. A genuine debt of gratitude is due the translator for having made them available to English readers. The work is divided into six sections covering all the incidents in the last days of the Life of Christ under the following headings: Jerusalem, Gethsemani, Mount Sion, In the Antonia, From the Antonia to Calvary, At the Tomb. While confining himself to a recital of facts as they are attested by the gospel itself, Catholic tradition, or contemporary history, and disclaiming all intention of raising the Revelations of St. Bridget, the Venerable Mother Mary d'Agreda and Catherine Emmerich to the level of historical sources, the author makes use of these writings "for their delicate and powerful intuition which throws a flood of light on the Gospel narrative and gives it life." Copious and constant use is also made of the works of rationalists and Protestants, especially those of the English school, who in the opinion of Father Ollivier, have done the greatest service of all. Written in a spirit of

real faith these studies have all the value which comes from a thorough knowledge of the literature on the subject and a wide acquaintance with the contemporary history and archæology.

A Devout Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians, drawn chiefly from the works of St. Thomas Aquinas. By A. Bertrand Wilberforce, O.P. St. Louis: B. Herder, 1902. 8°, pp. 244.

Besides the text and commentary of the epistle this book also contains a brief introduction and a useful analytical index. It is intended for spiritual reading, and will be found extremely helpful by those who have neither the time nor the opportunity for an extended or critical study of the Scriptures.

Practical Explanation and Application of Bible History. Edited by Rev. John J. Nash, D.D. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1902. 8°, pp. 518.

The value of this book, intended as a catechetical guide to the Old and New Testament is considerably diminished by the fact that no indications whatever are given to the places in the Bible on which the different chapters are based.

The Life of Christ. By Rev. Walter Elliott, of The Paulist Fathers. New York: The Catholic Book Exchange, 1902. 8°, pp. 763 + xxv.

There can be no doubt that Father Elliott's labors in preparing a new life of the Redeemer will meet with wide appreciation. The constructive tone of the book, written in a spirit of the most ardent faith, is in refreshing contrast to the many critical and analytical lives which the last fifty years have produced.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

The Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages. By Rev. Horace K. Mann. Head Master of St. Cuthbert's Grammar School, Newcastle-on-Tyne. Vol. I, in two parts. The Popes under the Lombard Rule. St. Gregory the Great to Leo III, 590-795. Part I, 590-657. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1902. 8°, pp. xii + 432. \$3.00. (St. Louis: B. Herder.)

Die Oracula Sibyllina. Von Dr. Joh. Geffcken. (Vol. VIII of the "Greek Christian Writers" in the Kirchenväter Commission series.) Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. 8°, pp. liii + 240. Marks 9.50.

- Etudes d'Histoire et de Théologie positive.* Par Mgr. Pierre Batiffol. Paris: Lecoffre, 1902. 8°, pp. viii+311.
- The Teaching of History and Civics in the Elementary and the Secondary Schools.* By Henry E. Bourne, B.A., B.D. New York: Longmans, 1902. 8°, pp. viii+385. (American Teachers Series.)
- L'Emancipation des Femmes.* Par Simon Deploige. Louvain: 1902. 8°, pp. 46.
- The First Irish in Illinois.* By P. T. Barry. Chicago: Newspaper Union, 1902. pp. 16.
- The French Association Law, its Motives and Methods.* By the Rev. John Gerard, S.J. New York: Longmans, 1902. 8°, pp. 62.
- The Invasion of Ireland by Edward Bruce.* A Thesis (University of Pennsylvania). By Caroline Calvin. Philadelphia, 1901. 8°, pp. 62.
- St. Jerome et la vie du Moine Malchus le Captif.* Par Paul van den Ven. Louvain: Ista, 1901. 8°, pp. 161.
- Bibliothèque des Bibliographies Critiques, publiée par la Société des Etudes Historiques:* Hoffman, par Henri de Curzon; Epigraphie Latine, par René Cagnat; Les Conflits entre la France et l'Empire pendant le Moyen-Age, par Alfred Leroux. Paris: Picard, 1902. 8°, pp. 9, 24, 73.
- S. Hieronymi Stridonensis Presbyteri Tractatus contra Origenem de visione Esaie quem nunc primum ex Codd. Casinensibus Ambrosius M. Amelli monachus archicoenobii Montis Casini in lucem edidit et illustravit. Tipografia di Montecassino, 1901. 8°, pp. xxiv+23.
- Petite Introduction aux Inventaires des Archives du Vatican.* Par le R. P. Louis Guérard, de l'Oratoire. Paris: Picard, 1901. 8°, pp. 39.
- Ueber die Entwicklung des katholischen Kirchenrechts im XIX Jahrhundert.* Rektoratsrede, Basel, 1901. Tübingen and Leipzig: Mohr. 8°, pp. 31.

ARCHBISHOP CORRIGAN.

Most Rev. M. A. Corrigan, Archbishop of New York, died in that city, May, 1902.

Michael Augustine Corrigan was born in Newark, N. J., September 13, 1839. He received his early education in Seton Hall College and entered the American College, Rome, as one of its pioneer students in December, 1859. He was ordained priest November 19, 1863, and was appointed President of Seton Hall in 1866. This position he held until May 14, 1873, when he was consecrated Bishop of Newark. September 29, 1880, he became coadjutor to Cardinal McCloskey, and succeeded him in 1885 as Archbishop of New York.

Archbishop Corrigan was a charter member of the Board of Trustees of the Catholic University. He was assiduous in his attendance at the meetings of the Board and in the discharge of the special duties which devolved upon him as a member of the Executive Committee. He contributed generously to the Library of the University and to the fund created for special endowments. From the Archdiocese of New York the University has received the Eugene Kelly Chair of Ecclesiastical History, the Margaret Hughes Kelly Chair of Holy Scripture and the scholarships founded by the Messrs. Benziger, the Duke de Loubat and Rev. Dr. Burtzell. These three scholarships were established for the benefit of theological students; and it is to the credit of the Archbishop that these positions have always been properly filled.

As a trustee of the American College, Rome, he showed an active interest in the development of the institution, and secured for it a large number of students. Seton Hall College also is deeply indebted to him as a friend and benefactor. But St. Joseph's Seminary, at Dunwoodie, N. Y. may well be regarded as a monument to his zeal for the education of the clergy. Its foundation, equipment and endowment were his particular

work; and to it during the last few years of his life he devoted much of his care and energy.

That in the midst of the absorbing occupation which fell to him as head of the greatest diocese in America, he should have found time to labor, in so many directions, for the cause of education, is evidence of his superior ability. His was a character of exceptional strength and tenacity of purpose. To his ideals of ecclesiastical life he was faithful in the highest measure. He was always and principally a churchman, and as such will long be remembered in the annals of the Church in the United States.

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EPISCOPAL CONSECRATION OF RT. REV. PHILIP J. GARRIGAN, D.D.

Right Rev. Dr. Philip J. Garrigan, Vice-Rector of the University since its opening in 1889, was consecrated first bishop of Sioux City, Iowa, on Trinity Sunday, May 25, in St. Michael's Cathedral, Springfield, Mass., Rt. Rev. Thomas D. Beavan, D.D., the Ordinary of that diocese was the consecrator. He was assisted by the Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Conaty, D.D., titular bishop of Samos and Rector of the Catholic University and Rt. Rev. Edward P. Allen, D.D., Bishop of Mobile.

The officers of the Mass were the following:

Assistant Priest, Rt. Rev. Mgr. Thomas Griffin, D.D., Worcester; *Deacons of Honor*, Rev. M. Ronan, Lowell, Rev. M. Dolan, Newton; *Deacon of Mass*, Rev. Eugene Toher, Leominster; *Sub-deacon of Mass*, Rev. Joseph H. Hayne, Irvington, N. Y.; *Masters of Ceremonies*, Rev. B. S. Conaty, Worcester, Rev. E. S. Fitzgerald, Springfield; *Chanters*, Rev. John Lee, Jefferson, Rev. H. J. Mulligan, Hingham, Rev. W. T. Sherry, Springfield, Rev. J. C. Ivers, Holyoke; *Chaplain to the Consecrandus*, Rev. D. F. Feehan, Fitchburg; *Notary*, Rev. W. J. Kerby, D.D., Washington, D. C.; *Thurifer*, Rev. P. J. Lee, Worcester; *Acolytes*, Rev. J. F. Ahern, Springfield, Rev. F. A. Lane, Springfield; *Cross-bearer*, Rev. Edward J. Fitzgerald, Clinton.

The bishops present, beside the consecrators, were:

Most Rev. John J. Williams, D.D., Boston, Most Rev. John J. Keane, D.D., Dubuque, Io., Rt. Rev. Denis M. Bradley, D.D., Manchester, N. H., Rt. Rev. Mathew J. Harkins, D.D., Providence, R. I., Rt. Rev. P. A. Ludden, D.D., Syracuse, N. Y., Rt. Rev. Henry Gabriels, D.D., Ogdensburg, N. Y., Rt. Rev. John Brady, D.D., Boston, Rt. Rev. John S. Michaud, D.D., Burlington, Vt., Rt. Rev. Michael Tierney, D.D., Hartford, Ct., Rt. Rev. Thomas M. A. Burke, Albany, N. Y., Rt. Rev. M. J. Hoban, D.D., Scranton, Pa., Rt. Rev. William H. O'Connell, D.D., Portland, Me.

Rt. Rev. Monsignor John Edwards, New York City, Rt. Rev. Monsignor Thomas Griffin, Worcester, Rt. Rev. Monsignor Thomas Magennis, Jamaica Plains (Boston), Rt. Rev. Monsignor Denis O'Callaghan, Boston.

Very Rev. William Byrne, D.D., V.G., Boston, Very Rev. John J.

Swift, V.G., Troy, N. Y., Very Rev. Eugene M. O'Callaghan, Concord, N. H., Very Rev. John T. Madden, V.G., Webster.

The following clergymen were present:

Rev. Charles F. Waldron, Charitan, Ia., representing Bishop Cosgrove of Davenport; Rev. J. L. Smith, Taunton, Mass., Rev. Joseph H. O'Neill, Philadelphia, Pa., Rev. N. J. Drohan, Hubbard, O., Rev. T. Danahy, Newton Upper Falls, Mass., Rev. M. Clune, Syracuse, N. Y., Rev. J. B. Delany, Manchester, N. H., Rev. William J. Fitzgerald, Millville, N. J., Rev. J. R. Slattery, St. Joseph's Seminary, Baltimore, Rev. M. Dolan, Newton, Mass., Rev. W. H. Grant, Catholic University, Washington, Rev. Dr. Kerby, Catholic University, Washington, Rev. Louis S. Walsh, Salem, Mass., Rev. William P. McQuaid, Boston, Mass., Rev. P. J. O'Connor, Sioux City, Ia., Rev. J. F. Brennan, Fonda, Ia., Rev. H. J. Lynch, Danbury, Ct., Rev. Charles B. Schrantz, President St. Charles College, Ellicott City, Md., Rev. John M. Cummings, Arlington, Ill., Rev. John J. Gilday, South Lawrence, Mass., Rev. E. R. Dyer, D.D., S.S., Dunwoodie, N. Y., Rt. Rev. Abbot Hilary Pfraengle, O.S.B., D.D., Manchester, N. H., Rev. Dr. M. J. Lavelle, New York City, Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, D.D., Catholic University, Washington, D. C., Rev. J. L. Reilly, Schenectady, N. Y., Rev. D. J. Kelly, Wall Lake, Ia., Rev. Daniel E. Maher, S.S., President St. John's Seminary, Brighton, Mass., Rev. Austin E. Doherty, Nashua, N. H., Very Rev. Joseph Vignon, M.S., Hartford, Ct., Rev. John F. Mullany, Syracuse, N. Y., Rev. R. J. Johnson, Boston, Mass., Rev. J. Fitzpatrick, Dubuque, Ia., Rev. James Fitzsimmons, Dunwoodie, N. Y., Rev. William O'Brien, Lowell, Mass., Rev. Joseph F. Mohan, Everett, Mass., Rev. J. C. Harrington, Lynn, Mass., Rev. James O'Doherty, Haverhill, Mass., Rev. John M. Mulcahy, Arlington, Mass., Rev. Daniel P. Duffy, S.S., Baltimore, Md., Rev. W. Shanahan, Sioux City, Ia., Rev. P. Ronan, Dorchester, Mass., Rev. H. J. Mulligan, Hingham, Mass., Rev. P. J. Malone, Providence, R. I., Rev. Jerome Dougherty, S.J., Washington, D. C., Rev. W. H. Fitzpatrick, Dorchester, Mass., Rev. P. M. Kennedy, New Haven, Ct., Rev. George J. Lucas, D.D., Blossburg, Pa., Rev. J. J. Fedigan, O.S.A., Villanova, Pa., Rev. Edward McSweeney, Bangor, Me., Rev. John S. Driscoll, Fonda, N. Y., Rev. R. Neagle, Malden, Mass., Rev. D. F. Sullivan, West Lynn, Mass., Rev. John J. Shaw, Lowell, Mass., Rev. Daniel J. Gleeson, Randolph, Mass., Rev. John T. Twohey, Ossining, N. Y., Rev. H. J. Schleier, Washington, D. C., Rev. James N. Supple, Charlestown, Mass., Rev. James J. Keegan, Woburn, Mass., Rev. Timothy Meagher, Danbury, Ia., Rev. Morgan M. Sheedy, Altoona, Pa., Rev.

Owen T. Clark, Providence, R. I., Rev. Joseph V. Tracy, D.D., Boston, Mass., Rev. James Coyle, Taunton, Mass., Rev. Daniel W. Murphy, Dover, N. H., Rev. M. J. Cooke, Fall River, Mass., Rev. J. E. Emery, O.M.I., Ottawa, Ont., Rev. John F. Lowery, Troy, N. Y., Rev. Thomas F. Carroll, Providence, R. I., Rev. C. H. McKenna, O.P., New York City.

Rev. Charles Crevier, Rev. D. Moyes, D.C.L., Rev. J. J. Fallon, Rev. J. T. Sheehan, Rev. H. Hamelin, Rev. E. J. Fitzgerald, Rev. J. J. Rice, D.D., Rev. J. J. Tyrrell, Rev. S. C. Hallissey, Rev. J. F. Griffin (2), Rev. W. T. Sherry, Rev. J. F. Redican, Rev. D. Mullins, Rev. Joseph F. Hanselman, S.J., Rev. D. H. O'Neill, Rev. James P. Tuite, Rev. P. D. Stone, Rev. P. B. Phelan, Rev. T. S. Hanrahan, Rev. J. D. McGann, Rev. D. F. McGrath, Rev. J. Conway, Rev. J. H. Desrochers, Rev. W. J. Power, Rev. James T. Canavan, Rev. M. A. O'Sullivan, Rev. P. F. Hafey, Rev. M. H. Kittredge, Rev. J. F. McDermott, Rev. Robert Walsh, Rev. J. P. Hackett, Rev. R. F. Walshe, Rev. M. J. Murphey, Rev. P. H. Gallen, Rev. Thomas Smyth, Rev. Thomas S. Donoghue, Rev. B. McKeany, Rev. J. F. Lee, Rev. J. J. O'Keefe, Rev. John Kenny, Rev. James Donohoe, Rev. Daniel Shehan, Rev. M. A. Griffin, Rev. John F. Griffin, Rev. P. J. Griffin, Rev. J. J. McCoy, Rev. T. McGovern, Rev. John Lunney, Very Rev. John Madden, V.G., Rt. Rev. Thomas Griffin, Rev. M. J. Ahern, Rev. William H. Goggin, Rev. D. F. McGillicuddy, Rev. B. S. Conaty, Rev. D. F. Feehan, Rev. E. S. Fitzgerald, Rev. J. J. Farrell, Rev. M. A. K. Kelly, Rev. John F. Conlin, Rev. F. A. Lane, Rev. John Daly, Rev. J. F. Ahern, Rev. J. F. Spellman, Rev. John A. Fitzgerald, Rev. L. O. Triganne.

At the conclusion of the service Rev. Dr. Kerby read a cablegram from Cardinal Rampolla announcing the blessing of Leo XIII upon the new bishop, and his congratulations. At two o'clock the visiting clergy partook of dinner in St. Michael's Hall. The eloquent discourse of Archbishop Keane was based upon the wospel of the day. Toward the close he spoke as follows:

"This feast of the Holy Trinity will long be a memorable one to us as the day on which our dear friend and beloved priest, long known as Fr. Garrigan, was exalted to the sublime dignity of the episcopate. Particularly does the Gospel of the day which has just been read make a happy coincidence with this solemn ceremony, which is explained by the words of God. 'All power is given to you on earth as it is in

heaven. Go ye therefore teaching all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.' In these words our Lord established the apostolic body, in these words consecrated His apostles, and now in participation of this power we are to-day consecrating Bishop Garrigan.

"In this consecration our Lord commands and empowers two things, two great functions. The first is to teach all nations the holy Gospel and the glad tidings of the redemption, and secondly, to bestow on all those who will accept the holy baptism regenerating them into the life of God. This is one of the truthful treasures of our religion. The apostolic ministry is forever to enlighten all nations and spread the divine light of regeneration. It is a verification of our Lord's words: 'I have come that they may have life,' and it renders us participants of the divine nature. The second great function is in the seal of the Holy Trinity, embodying the glad tidings of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost.

"By these things we can understand fully the grandeur of this day's consecration. Up to this time Fr. Garrigan possessed the qualifications of the apostolic priest to a limited degree. Now by the disposition of the hands and the act of Christ he is given the full powers of the episcopate. All the powers of this creation are now for him and to be transmitted to others that they may carry on the work of Christ after he is dead and gone. The chain has been carried on down long ages and by the words of Christ himself it will last until the end of time. To-day Fr. Garrigan is made one of the golden links in the chain between Christ and his apostles. With a heart full of awe he contemplates this new-found relationship to Jesus Christ and the Holy Trinity. It is with a heart imbued with fear, he dwells on this great gift, his for all eternity. Not, however, the fear of hard work in his new career. Too long has he been a soldier of Christ to fear the responsibility he now assumes. It is rather the fear begot from reverence and adoration in this awful relationship with the great God. He welcomes it. He will thank God for it to the day of his death. Yet it is terrible even to a veteran in the ranks of God's workers when he thinks of the millions of souls now given to his charge. But he will have with him a devoted band of priests who will be loyal to him as their bishop and chief. In his new bishopric he will work with redoubled zeal with the band of heroes under his charge for the glory of the Kingdom of Christ.

"He will have with him in the far West many pioneers of the religion in that land, who have retained their fearlessness and indomitable determination by which a foundation so broad was given their religion that future generations may rear images on it of Christ and

Church. He will have a people that any bishop might well be proud of and thankful for. He will find sifted away the bitterness, narrowness and hatred engendered on the old Atlantic shores, with scarce a vestige left, and a people as broad as they are brave, and in him they will find the right man for the bishopric. I have known him well. It has been my privilege to go with him through trials and difficulties such as tax men's souls and show what men are made of. I rejoice to have him with me again for it is in a portion of my diocese, set away for him, that he will be located. I thank God beforehand for the benedictions he will bring. You from your hearts pray for him, that he may bring greater glory to God and to himself. May his administration be prosperous and marked with the zeal that has ever characterized him in the work of the Master."

Rt. Rev. Dr. Garrigan bears with him to Sioux City the best wishes of the University. He has been intimately associated with the work from the very beginning. The material details of the great enterprise fell very largely upon his shoulders—how numerous and exacting were the duties of those pioneer days no one will ever know who has not lived through a similar situation. Amid circumstances naturally destined to arouse criticism he always bore himself with calmness and dignity, and won universal esteem for the goodness of his heart, the rectitude of his mind, and the uprightness of his conduct. The citizens of Washington, with whom he came frequently into contact, bear witness not only to his correct priestly life, but also to the qualities of prudence, vigilance and punctuality that marked his business dealings. Great sums of money passed constantly through his hands. The contracts for the first buildings of the University demanded his closest attention for many years. In the details of these responsibilities he was ever most faithful and gave to the University the fruit of the long experience gathered in the mission-field, where his former parishioners never cease to venerate him. He shared the administration, first with his actual Metropolitan, the Archbishop of Dubuque, and then with the present Rt. Rev. Rector. They testify to his loyalty to the ideals of the founders of the University, to his very strong sense of justice, his habitually equitable temperament, his patience and forbearance amid the many peculiar trials

to which a great institution is liable, when it has to make its own traditions and create for itself a permanent place in the sunlight of popular esteem and affection.

In his dealings with the professors of the University he was always courteous and helpful. To the students he bore himself as an elder brother, ever ready with counsel and direction. He took a just pride in the numerous affiliated schools of the University, and was deeply interested in their prosperity, and further increase. It is certain that he gave himself entire and without reserve to the work of the University as far as his office called him or his efficacious sympathy could go.

Our Holy Father Leo XIII has now raised him to another sphere of grave duties. The University extends to him the assurance that it can never forget the debt of gratitude that it owes him for the fourteen years of devotion and loyalty that he gave to it in the most critical period of its life. It says confidently to the clergy of Sioux City that they will find in Dr. Garrigan all the pastoral qualities of a good bishop heightened by a rare and superior ecclesiastical experience. May the spiritual harvest correspond to the zeal and toil of the husbandman and his fellow laborers!

At the June meeting of the University Senate the following resolutions were passed:

WHEREAS, it has pleased Our Holy Father, Leo XIII, to appoint as first Bishop of Sioux City, the Very Rev. Philip J. Garrigan, D.D., Vice-Rector of The Catholic University of America; and

WHEREAS, Rev. Dr. Garrigan has been from its beginning intimately associated with the work of the University; therefore be it

Resolved, that while we regret the departure of Dr. Garrigan from the University, we rejoice at the honor that has been conferred upon him, and be it

Resolved, that in the performance of the difficult duties imposed upon him by the various official positions which he has occupied, he has laid the University under lasting obligations, and be it

Resolved, that the best wishes of the University accompany Bishop Garrigan to the field of labor in which God has placed him for the diffusion of truth and for the glory of the Holy Church, and be it

Resolved, that these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the Academic Senate and that a copy be presented to Rt. Rev. Bishop Garrigan.

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COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, JUNE 4, 1902.

The annual commencement exercises of the Catholic University of America were held in the Assembly Room of McMahon Hall, Wednesday, June 4, at ten o'clock. The auditorium was decorated tastefully with the college colors, white and gold, American flags, and flowers.

The hall was filled with the friends of the graduates and the University, while on the stage, besides Cardinal Gibbons, Chancellor of the University, and the officers of the faculty, were present many persons of prominence. Among them were Senor Azpiroz, the Mexican Ambassador; the Right Rev. Bishop Blenk, of Porto Rico; Dr. Edward Minor Gallaudet, president of Columbia College for the Deaf and Dumb; Very Rev. F. X. Fink, S.J., president of Gonzaga College; Rev. John Conway, S.J., vice-president of Georgetown University; Brother Abdas, president of St. John's College; Rev. Joseph McSorley, C.S.P., superior of St. Thomas' College; Very Rev. J. B. Descreux, S.M., provincial of the Marists; Very Rev. John A. Burns, C.S.C., superior of Holy Cross College; Rev. James Driscoll, S.S., superior of St. Austin's College; Rev. J. F. Mackin, pastor of St. Paul's; Rev. Father Caughy, of St. Stephen's; Rev. Father Joseph McGee, of Sacred Heart; Rev. J. F. X. Mulvaney, S.J., of Holy Trinity Church; Rev. J. A. Carey, of Holy Name Church; Rev. Father Hannan, of St. Martin's Church; Rev. George Lucas, D.D., of Blossburg, Pa.; Rev. Father Bradley, of Philadelphia; Gen. Vincent, U. S. A.; Representative Thayer, of Massachusetts; Rev. Walter Elliott, C.S.P., of New York; Rev. James J. Fox, D.D., of St. Thomas' College, and Father Quill, of Georgetown University.

After thanking the audience for their presence at the exercises, the Rector, Bishop Conaty, spoke of the satisfactory work done at the University during the year in following the schedule as announced in the year book. He also said that the financial condition of the University was satisfactory, notwithstanding the many rumors that have been sedulously circulated. There has been received during the year, outside of the regular revenues of the University, \$27,000 in general contributions—\$20,000 of this sum being the bequest of Mrs. Reyburn of Baltimore, and \$4,700 from the estate of Mr. Andrew Doherty of New York. Of this sum \$15,000 has been paid on the general debt. Over \$18,000 has been added to the endowment fund in scholarships; the Archbishop Hennessy scholarship for Dubuque; the Dana scholarship for Boston, and the Lindesmith scholarships for

Cleveland. Besides this a guarantee fund for the wiping out of the indebtedness of the University has been established by the bishops, and \$6,500 has been received for this fund, making a total of over \$52,000 over and above the regular revenue. In addition to this, the University has, by the will of Mrs. Sarah Ferris Devlin of Boston, obtained \$50,000 for a professorship; by the will of Mr. Timothy Rior-dan of New York a scholarship is endowed, and the University is made residuary legatee of the will. We also receive a scholarship, and are made residuary legatees of the will of Mrs. Elizabeth Kernan of Cincinnati. By the will of Mr. Hamilton Willis, at one time of Boston, but a resident of London, England, at the time of his death, the University is made one of three legatees in a property estimated at about \$100,000.

The University possesses property, land and buildings, upon which \$1,200,000 have been expended, and our trust funds aggregate \$860,000. The total indebtedness is \$195,000, with an asset in the property recently sold in Long Branch of \$27,000, which leaves the net indebtedness of the University at the present moment \$168,000 at 4 per cent. On a property on which \$1,200,000 are invested this is certainly a satisfactory condition in view of the extraordinary expenses which the University for fourteen years has been obliged to make over and above its regular revenue.

What the University needs to-day is one million dollars, in addition to its trust funds. It needs a library building for its valuable collection of books, and it needs a church. The endowment fund is the most pressing need. There should be no doubt as to the ability of the Catholics of this country to raise that million dollars, provided interest is awakened to the importance of the work. With 14,000,000 of Catholics a million of dollars ought not to be considered an extravagant demand. As Archbishop Ireland recently said in Peoria, there should be \$20,000,000 instead of \$2,000,000. A hundred thousand people giving \$10 apiece would make the million; a thousand giving \$100 each would do the same, and so on. Rev. Joseph H. McMahon, Ph.D., of New York, has been selected by the trustees to act in conjunction with the Rector in bringing this matter of the endowment fund to the attention of our people.

Let us be in earnest about it. Let the association which is being formed at the present time assume a national character, that every friend who values the high ideals of Catholicism earnestly cooperate by his contribution to this fund for a period of five years, and there will be no question as to all the means needed to place the University in a position to do the work demanded of it. Universities, like busi-

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ness enterprises, cannot work satisfactorily upon the small capital first invested. The University, like any business enterprise, is pressed by the law of competition. The rule is inexorable, and the success of each succeeding year depends upon the increased capital to meet the business of educational demands. The Catholic University, with small trust funds, has done a tremendous work, and any doubt of its being handicapped in the future should be set at rest by the generosity of the great body of the Catholic priesthood and laity. Let all friends of the University unite in establishing and developing a great national association for five years at least, and let each member of the association bind himself to contribute \$100 to the fund. It may be in five instalments, or it may be given at once, according to individual means and individual generosity. In God's name, now, let us work to raise this million dollars, which is very insignificant when we think of the millions that are placed at the disposal of our great American Universities. Let our Catholic University be equipped to do the work of God and of science. I have no doubt as to the result, once our people are awakened to the need of generous coöperation.

During the past year the University has been signally honored by a special letter from the Holy Father, given to his Eminence, our Cardinal Chancellor, in June of last year. The letter was but another proof of the great love and interest of our Holy Father in the success of the University. It was also in recognition of the University the Holy Father chose to bestow episcopal honors upon the Rector, as also to summon our esteemed Vice-Rector to the government of the newly established diocese of Sioux City. Right Rev. Bishop Garrigan for fourteen years has been associated with the University. He was with it at its beginning, he watched over its development and its growth. He superintended the erection of its buildings and cared for them. He gave the best years of his life to everything that stood for the University ideal. The everlasting gratitude of the University is due to him, and its best wishes accompany him to his new field of labor. Very Rev. Dr. Charles P. Grannan, Professor of Sacred Scripture, has been honored also by a position upon the Commission of Scripture Studies, in recognition of his scholarly attainments as a distinguished teacher of sacred scripture, and also because of his devotion and unselfish service to the interests of the University from its very beginning.

During the year St. Austin's College, for the instruction of young priests of the Sulpician company, has been opened at Brookland, making the fifth college established beside the University, under University influence. The Dominican Fathers, whose traditions are entwined

with the history of the great universities of the church, have recently decided to establish their houses of studies at the Catholic University for the education of their own students, and next September ground will be broken for their new college. This is evidence of academic interest in the University's work, and also an abiding faith in the future of the University.

During the year the University has been called upon to mourn the death of a charter member of its Board of Trustees, in the person of Archbishop Corrigan of New York. From the beginning of the University he was a faithful member of its Board of Trustees. His contributions to different funds, and in particular, by valuable collections of theological works, to our library, have placed the University under a debt of gratitude to his memory.

DEGREES CONFERRED.

Presentation of the candidates for degrees then took place. Professor D. W. Shea, director of the School of Technological Science, presented the candidates for their degrees. Professor W. C. Robinson, Dean of the Faculty of Law, performed that service for those entitled to degrees in law. Professor Edmund T. Shanahan, Dean of the Faculty of Theology, and Professor Maurice Francis Egan, Ph.D., Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, presented the candidates for their respective degrees.

Bachelor of Science (B.S.).

Wilhelm Ostwald Sauer,	<i>Washington, D. C.</i>
Primaner (Real Gymnasium, Posen, Germany) 1898.	
Philip Benjamin Williams,	<i>Washington, D. C.</i>

Electrical Engineer (E.E.).

Stanislaus von Prusinowski,	<i>Washington, D. C.</i>
Primaner (Real Gymnasium, Posen, Germany) 1898; B.S. (The Catholic University of America) 1901.	

Dissertation:—"The Electrical Lighting and Power Plant of the Catholic University of America."

Bachelor of Laws (LL.B.).

Timothy Charles Collins,	<i>North Adams, Mass.</i>
A.B. (Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass) 1896.	
Joseph Henry Gainer,	<i>Providence, R. I.</i>
A.B. (Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass) 1899.	
William Martin McCormick,	<i>Providence, R. I.</i>
A.B. (Mt. St. Mary's College) 1890.	
Denis Aloysius Murphy,	<i>Lowell, Mass.</i>
A.B. (Mt. St. Mary's College) 1899.	

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Oscar
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Preston
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August
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William
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Rev. E.
Rev. W.
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A.B.
James
Ph.
Rev. W.
Rev. W.
Ph.
Rev. T.
A.B.
Rev. J.
A.B.
Rev. W.
A.B.
Rev. L.
A.B.
Rev. J.

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| Abel Eliseo Perea,
A.B. (Villa Nova College) 1899. | <i>Bernalillo, N. Mex.</i> |
| Oscar Boyle Polk,
A.B. (Christian Brothers College, Memphis) 1899. | <i>Memphis, Tenn.</i> |
| Preston Blair Ray,
B.S. (Columbian University) 1899. | <i>Tennallytown, D. C.</i> |
| Augustine Bernard Thompson,
A.B. (St. Mary's College, Marlon Co., Ky.) 1899. | <i>Barstow, Ky.</i> |

Doctor of Law (J.D.).

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| Masatoshi Nishizawa,
LL.B. (Columbian University) LL.M. (ibid.).
Dissertation:—"The Law of Bills of Exchange in the Japanese Commercial Code." | <i>Japan.</i> |
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Doctor of Civil Laws (D.C.L.).

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| William Henry De Lacy,
B.S. (St. John's College, Washington, D. C.) 1879; LL.B. (Georgetown University) 1883; LL.M. (ibid.) 1884.
Dissertation:—"Obligation in the Civil Law." | <i>Washington, D. C.</i> |
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Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.).

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| Herman Theodor Holm,
Candidatus Philosophiæ (University of Copenhagen, Denmark) 1881.
Dissertation:—"Some New Anatomical Characters for Certain Gramineæ." | <i>Brookland, D. C.</i> |
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Bachelor in Sacred Theology (S.T.B.).

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| Rev. Hugh Joseph Bowen, | <i>Archdiocese of Philadelphia.</i> |
| Rev. William Patrick Clark, | <i>Archdiocese of Cincinnati.</i> |
| Rev. John Joseph Crane,
Ph.B. (St. John's Seminary, Brighton) 1898. | <i>Archdiocese of Boston.</i> |
| Rev. James Aloysius Gallagher,
A.B. (La Salle College, Philadelphia) 1893. | <i>Archdiocese of Philadelphia.</i> |
| Rev. John Martin Cannon,
A.B. (St. Bonaventure's Seminary, Allegany) 1901. | <i>Diocese of Erie.</i> |
| James Martin Gillis, C.S.P.,
Ph.B. (St. John's Seminary, Brighton) 1898. | <i>New York.</i> |
| Rev. Walter Francis Gottwalles, | <i>Diocese of Nashville.</i> |
| Rev. William Hugh Grant,
Ph.B. (St. John's Seminary, Brighton) 1901. | <i>Archdiocese of Boston.</i> |
| Rev. Timothy Peter Holland, S.S.,
A.B. (Ottawa University, Canada) 1896. | <i>Brookland, D. C.</i> |
| Rev. James Patrick McGraw,
A.B. (Manhattan College, N. Y.) 1897. | <i>Diocese of Syracuse.</i> |
| Rev. William Bernard Martin,
A.B. (St. Francis Xavier's College) 1897. | <i>Archdiocese of New York.</i> |
| Rev. Leo Francis O'Neil,
A.B. (Boston College) 1897. | <i>Archdiocese of Boston.</i> |
| Rev. John Stephen Shanahan, | <i>Archdiocese of Dubuque.</i> |

Licentiate in Sacred Theology (S.T.L.).

- Rev. Thomas Joseph Brennan, *Archdiocese of San Francisco*.
S.T.B. (The Catholic University of America) 1901.
Dissertation:—"Future Punishment of Original Sin."
- Rev. Cornelius Joseph Holland, *Diocese of Providence*.
A.B. (Manhattan College) 1895; Ph.B. (St. John's Seminary, Brighton) 1897;
S.T.B. (The Catholic University of America) 1901.
Dissertation:—"The Chantry System: A Study in Pre-Reformation Church History."
- Rev. Joseph Patrick Mackey, *Archdiocese of San Francisco*.
S.T.B. (The Catholic University of America) 1901.
Dissertation:—"The Logos Doctrine of St. John, of Philo Judæus, and the Idea of 'Word' and 'Wisdom' in the Old Testament."
- Rev. Francis Joseph Mullin, *Archdiocese of Boston*.
Ph.B. (St. John's Seminary, Brighton) 1897; S.T.B. (The Catholic University of America) 1901.
Dissertation:—"Testimonium Septimæ Manus: A Study in Matrimonial Procedure."
- Rev. Francis Clement Renier, *Archdiocese of Dubuque*.
A.B. (St. Joseph's College, Dubuque) 1897; S.T.B. (Grand Seminary, Montreal) 1899; J.C.B. (ibid.) 1900; S.T.L. (ibid.) 1900.
Dissertation:—"Contrition as a Sufficient Means for Justification."
- Rev. Manuel Ruiz y Rodriguez, *Diocese of Havana, Cuba*.
S.T.B. (St. Charles and St. Ambrose Seminary, Havana) 1898.
Dissertation:—"Conceptus Gratæ Sanctificantis: Evolutio Historico-Dogmatica."
- Rev. Michael Joseph Walsh, *Archdiocese of San Francisco*.
S.T.B. (The Catholic University of America) 1901.
Dissertation:—"The Indwelling of the Most Holy Trinity in the Souls of the Just."
- Rev. George William Welch, *Diocese of Springfield*.
Ph.B. (St. John's Seminary, Brighton) 1900; S.T.B. (The Catholic University of America) 1901.
Dissertation:—"The Concept of Pure Nature and its Importance in Determining the Consequences of Original Sin."
- Rev. Malachy Francis Yingling, *Archdiocese of Baltimore*.
A.B. (St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore) 1896; A.M. (ibid.) 1897; S.T.B. (ibid.) 1899.
Dissertation:—"Christ's Bodily Resurrection an Historical Reality."

CLOSING ADDRESS OF THE RT. REV. RECTOR.

In his closing address the Right Rev. Rector dealt with the subject: "Culture as a Specific Aim of the University."

He emphasized very strongly the importance and necessity of culture as a result of study in all departments of knowledge. The university is for something higher than mere specializing. It should result in cultivated men, with sympathy for all forms of knowledge. Specialization has many advantages. It has investigated all branches

of science, acquired a more accurate knowledge of nature, subdivided and multiplied the sciences, thus increasing and benefitting the world.

Industrial, commercial and financial development is the work of a patient, self-sacrificing investigator, who has not been satisfied until he has reached facts by which nations as well as individuals have been benefited.

The disadvantages of specialization are seen in the tendency to narrowness, to the lack of sympathy for other sciences. It results from the overlooking of the relations in which each truth stands to the whole. Science is not confined to mere physical research, but belongs also to the world of speculation and the things of the mind. A spirit of devotion to culture will save specialization from the disadvantages liable to follow it.

Culture worships the true; it loves the good. Matthew Arnold has defined it as the study of perfection. It is demanded as a social function, by which man and his best thoughts are brought into contact with his fellow men. It broadens man's viewpoint; it gives him growth in truth. Culture makes the gentleman and the scholar, the man of the world as well as the man of thought.

This is particularly true of the university man, who should find in his studies an atmosphere that penetrates and inspires his whole being.

The university is something more than a collection of buildings or an aggregation of faculties. It is the expression of devotion to the advancement of the kingdom of knowledge. It develops a certain temper which expresses itself by love for every form of knowledge, purely because it is knowledge and a special sympathy for the more human forms of knowledge. It does not preclude, but rather produces devotion to some particular form of truth. It produces men with refinement, public spirit, intellectual power, who are constantly adding to the world's sum of goodness and power.

A Catholic university has all of these advantages and more, for it possesses touch with the supernatural; it gives true philosophy and true religion, by which man alone can reach the fullness of his being. The Catholic University carries on in the intellectual field the work of harmonious synthesis by which the church has accomplished her great mission in other spheres. The function of the Catholic University is to do with the sciences what the church has done with the nations, to unite faith and nature, the divine and physical sciences and to make both an influence in the development of man.

The university aims at the coordination of the divine and the human and the natural. The university graduate should be the

product of university culture; the result of the union of the divine and the human in the full development of mind and will and heart; he should be a man who thinks and does, whose aim is wisdom, whose view is broad enough to acknowledge truth wherever discovered, while his special studies leads him to special results.

The Catholic University during the past year has coordinated all its studies in such a way that the student has the advantage of development along all the lines that lead to the ripest culture, while taste for special study has been equally fostered.

Bishop Conaty closed with an appeal to university men to be true to those ideals which alone can produce the perfect Christian culture that lends to human life its highest grace, dignity and utility.

CARDINAL GIBBONS' ADDRESS.

The exercises were brought to a close by a brief address by the Chancellor of the University, Cardinal Gibbons. Among other things he said:

"From time to time during the year false statements have been circulated though the press concerning the finances of the University. I have been surprised, and so have the trustees, that there should be found any one so ill-informed as to give utterance to statements so absolutely baseless. As the Chancellor, and speaking for the trustees, I wish to give our Catholic people to understand that there is no truth whatever in these rumors. The finances of the University are in good condition, and there is no danger of financial straits. The trustees, who are careful, prudent men, annually examine into all the details, and they are fully satisfied that the University is doing its duty faithfully and successfully, and that its finances are in excellent condition. It is a young institution and has made wonderful strides. Why should it not be encouraged instead of calumniated? Let there be no fear as to its future. The Holy Father loves it with great intensity. I saw him a year ago, and I know how deeply interested he is in its success. He has signally honored its Rector by giving him the dignity of the episcopate as a distinguished mark of his esteem for his services in the office of Rector. He has recently called the Vice-Rector to the responsibility of bishop in the newly established See of Sioux City, and thus crowned the labors of fourteen years of service. It is a great honor that in the space of a year two such signal favors should come to those charged with the administration of the University, and we all rejoice in this merited recognition.

"Our Catholic people should be more intensely interested in the im-

portant work of upbuilding and developing the University. It is young yet, and cannot be expected to do all that older institutions with more experience and unlimited means can do. It has done nobly during its fourteen years of life. All it needs is more generous cooperation, a more extended interest, a greater willingness to help by word and deed. As the Rector has said, it ought to be easy to raise another million dollars, if the people would realize their duty to the greatest institution of learning which the church possesses in this country."

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Meeting of the Board of Trustees.—A meeting of the Board of Trustees was held at the University May 9.

Anniversary Requiem for Monsignor McMahon.—An anniversary mass of requiem was celebrated on April 15 for our deceased benefactor, Mgr. McMahon. The professors and students assisted in a body at this mark of respect and veneration for the venerable priest to whom the University owes an imperishable debt of gratitude.

Alumni of the American College, Rome.—The Alumni Association of the American College in Rome held its annual meeting and banquet in Washington May 11. Bishop Conaty was a guest at the banquet, and responded to the toast of "The President of the United States." His remarks made a very favorable impression. The following day about forty members of the Alumni came out as guests of the University and spent some time in looking over the different departments of work. At two o'clock they were entertained at dinner in Caldwell Hall by the Rector. Toward the close of the dinner Bishop Conaty expressed in fitting terms the welcome of the University to the Alumni Association, and dwelt upon the bonds of affection existing between the Alumni of the American College and the University. The history of the growth and development of the University was briefly detailed, and the place which the University occupies in the educational system of the Church in America was very clearly outlined. Its growth has been marvelous, and its circle of affiliated colleges expresses the confidence of the teaching orders of the Church in its ultimate success. Bishop Conaty expressed the welcome of the University to the Alumni of all Catholic educational bodies, and particularly to the American College, in which several of its distinguished professors have been educated.

Addresses were made by Very Rev. Dr. Grannan, Dr. Shahan, Dr. Shanahan and Dr. Creagh. Rev. John Burke, president of the association, expressed the thanks of the Alumni for the cordial and whole-souled hospitality which the University, through its Rector, had extended to them. The visit was thoroughly enjoyed by the visitors, who were warm in their praises of the work of the University, and of the welcome extended to them by the Rector and professors.

Requiem for Archbishop Corrigan.—On Friday, May 16, a Pontifical Mass of Requiem for the repose of the soul of the late Archbishop

Corrigan was celebrated in Caldwell Chapel. The Right Rev. Rector was the celebrant; the assistant priest being Rev. P. J. Healy; deacon, Rev. William B. Martin; subdeacon, Rev. P. J. McGraw, all of New York, and Revs. Maurice J. O'Connor, of Boston, and C. J. Holland, of Providence, R. I., masters of ceremonies. The professors and students of the University attended the mass in a body.

Public Lecture by Dr. Pace.—Very Rev. Dr. Pace, professor of psychology, delivered the concluding lecture in the University's public course on Wednesday, May 19. The subject was "The Education of Woman in Greece and Rome."

Lecture by Dr. Zahm.—Dr. Albert F. Zahm read a paper before the Philosophical Society of Washington, May 24, on "New Methods of Experimentation in Aerodynamics," presenting an outline of the work of Mr. Mattullath and himself in the Department of Mechanics of the Catholic University during the past year. A description was given of the aerodynamic laboratory and its equipment; the apparatus developed for producing a wind of uniform velocity and direction; the instruments devised for measuring air velocity, resistance, skin-friction, etc. Among the objects exhibited was a pressure gauge graduated to millionths of an atmosphere, which can be adjusted to read less than one ten millionth. The paper will soon be published with illustrations. It is to be followed by a series of papers giving, in technical detail, the results of each experiment.

Baccalaureate Sermon.—The annual Baccalaureate sermon was preached on Sunday, June 1, by the Rev. Patrick J. Hayes, S.T.L., of New York City, president of the Alumni Association. Our former Vice-Rector, Right Rev. P. J. Garrigan, D.D., Bishop of Sioux City, Iowa, sang Pontifical Mass on the occasion. At the end of the mass he delivered a brief discourse, in which he touchingly reviewed his relations with the University since its foundation, and pledged to the good work his earnest sympathy and coöperation in the future.

Early Irish Lyric Poetry.—Dr. F. N. Robinson, assistant professor of Gaelic at Harvard University, who has been conducting a course of instruction at the Catholic University for the benefit of the students in the Gaelic department, delivered, April 21, a public lecture on "Early Irish Lyric Poetry." Invitations had been extended to all those interested in Gaelic literature, and a large number of prominent people were present at McMahon Hall. The Rector, Right Rev. Bishop Conaty, presided, and in introducing Dr. Robinson he referred to the Gaelic literature movement, and acknowledged with gratitude the

indebtedness of the University and of all lovers of Gaelic to the Ancient Order of Hibernians for its princely gift by which the chair of Gaelic had been established at the University. He thanked Dr. Robinson for his great kindness in helping the work of the Gaelic endowment at the University.

The lecturer dealt mainly with lyric poetry of the earliest period in Irish literature. He spoke first of the few poems that are found in the manuscripts of the old Irish period, strictly speaking, that is, in the manuscripts scattered over the continent of Europe which contain Irish glossaries, and which were written from the seventh to the end of the tenth century. The literary materials of any sort are scanty. There is very little verse, indeed, he said, but such as there is has a peculiar interest and charm. He gave translations of several fragments that have been discovered in several corners of these old manuscripts. Most of them were scribbled on the fly leaves or in margins of documents with which they have nothing to do.

One of the most interesting of these is an old poem, apparently written by a law scribe, at least as early as the ninth century, which describes the way he lived with a pet cat. It is full of delicious humor and pleasing fancy. The greater number of the poems read are preserved in later manuscripts—in manuscripts of the Middle Irish period—but their language shows them to have been composed, without doubt, many centuries earlier. They have come down to us usually as part of the national hero sagas of the Irish. They are very varied in subject matter, representing a wide range of interests. Some of them are descriptions of nature, some love songs, others have to do with war or travels, and some of the most beautiful are lamentations over the dead.

In closing, Dr. Robinson called attention in particular to a poem recently published by Professor Kuno Meyer, and by him entitled "The King and the Hermit." Dr. Meyer discovered this poem in a sixteenth century manuscript, but gave reasons for believing that it was written as early as the tenth century. It contains exquisite descriptions of nature—birds and trees, outdoor life—and is representative of a large class of anonymous Irish poems which have been for the most part overlooked in the past, and which are among the most beautiful contributions of the ancient Irish to literature.